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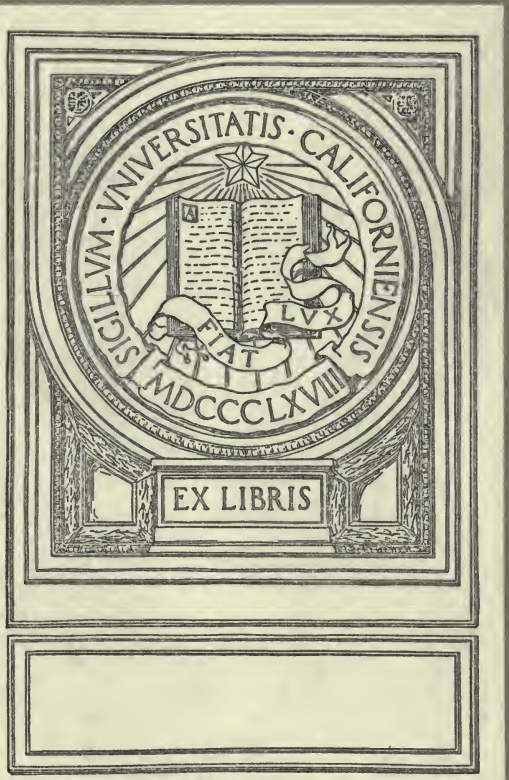
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# REMARKS

UPON

# RECENT COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION;

SUGGESTED BY THE

EXPOSITORY STATEMENT OF THE REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS,
AND OTHER PAPERS LATELY SUBMITTED
TO PARLIAMENT.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BY

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR NEWARK.

---

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1845.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,
Stamford Street.

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# REMARKS,

*&c. &c.*

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The 'Expository Statement of the Customs' Revenue' of the United Kingdom, which was presented to Parliament at the opening of the session by her Majesty's command, has attracted considerable notice from the public: and a desire has been expressed in the House of Commons by one of its most distinguished members * for something in the nature of a commentary upon that statement, which should bring clearly and definitely into view the leading results it may be found to establish. It is, indeed, obvious that a series of tables so complex and extended afford rather the crude materials of information to the general observer, than information itself.

On account of my official cognisance of those changes of the law in 1842, which led to the preparation of the document in question, I am led to make an attempt of the nature I have described. And upon the whole I have preferred making it through the medium of the press, rather than occupying so much of the time of the House of Commons, engrossed as it is by the mass of other business, as would be requisite for the purpose of an oral exposition essentially involving many figures and details.

With this introduction, I propose to traverse in succession the following departments of the subject:—

---

* Speech of Lord John Russell on motion for going into Committee of Ways and Means, Feb. 17, 1845.

I. The proportion of our entire foreign trade which has been affected, in various degrees, by the reductions of the last three years.

II. The amount of revenue directly surrendered by them.

III. The actual results of the recent changes upon the revenue of the state and on our trade in various branches, so far as they are exhibited by the documents now before Parliament.

IV. Their results upon domestic producers.

V. The policy of these measures, with especial reference to the recent proceedings of Foreign Powers in matters of Trade.

My examination is suggested by the 'Expository Statement' and other kindred papers which have recently been laid before Parliament; but it will oblige me to enter into even the financial policy of the legislature and of the administration up to the present moment, so far as it is immediately connected with trade.

Again, it will turn, in the main at least, and directly, upon the course of our import trade. It is true, indeed, that Parliament has now sealed the doom of the very last of our duties upon exports: but this operation had long been within one step of entire accomplishment; and the amount of immediate relief remaining to be given by the final act during the present year was too small to produce a general effect of appreciable magnitude. I should rather plead that the value of the recent measures with regard to imports might be taken as the ultimate test of their value with reference to the exports with which those imports must be purchased; because, though we cannot in every particular case assume an immediate trade outwards when we create a trade inwards, yet it is manifest that upon the whole such is the law which must govern our commercial transactions.

I. As to the proportion of the trading operations of the country which the measures have embraced.

In the Account of trade and navigation,* annually presented to Parliament at its meeting, I find the principal imports of the

* Paper No. 18, Sess. 1845.

country specified to the number of one hundred and thirty-three. Of these the duties have been reduced or removed upon one hundred and six; upon twenty-nine they remain unaltered.

Again, if we take the official valuations of all imports into the United Kingdom for the year 1843 (the latest for which the accounts have been published), we find that they amounted to the sum of 70,093,000*l.*

The total values of all those articles (as nearly as I can compute them without minute detail) upon which no change has been made amounted to about 8,500,000*l.* of the entire sum; and the values, which have shared in various degrees the relief afforded by the alterations, amount to about 61,600,000*l.*

It is well known that the criterion of official value is extremely fallacious in detail. It is, however, unfortunately, the only form in which, at the present moment, our imports are reduced to a common measure, and rendered capable of being treated as a whole. In several of the cases the standard fixed has now become, through change of circumstances, egregiously false. Thus cotton wool is valued at 7*d.* and 7¾*d.* per lb., or nearly twice its average price; fir timber at 15*s.* per load, or less than a third part of its average price; and tea, again, at 2*s.* per lb., which is not much short of twice its average price. Still it does not appear to me that, when the scale of computation is so large, these errors, which very much neutralise one another, materially interfere with my object: and therefore the proposition holds good that of our whole import trade seven-eighths have been affected by the reductions of import duty which Parliament has adopted in the years 1842-5.

It is true that they have been affected in very various degrees. On raw silk, for instance, and hemp, both of them important articles, only the insensible duties of 1*d.* per lb. and 1*d.* per cwt. respectively were imposed by the previous law. But, speaking generally, the reductions and remissions have been far from inconsiderable. For instance, on the three great articles of sugar, timber, and corn, the diminution made, though it cannot be estimated with strict accuracy, may be said to amount nearly to one-half of the duties previously subsisting.

II. At the same time it is undeniable that whatever may be the extent of these measures in reference to trade, in reference to the whole amount of revenue which we raise from imported commodities, they have been secondary. Four articles, of the first class with respect to the amount of duty levied from them, have been left wholly untouched. They are the articles of

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Tea, yielding in 1844 . . . . | £4,524,000 |
| 2. Tobacco . . . . . | 3,977,000 |
| 3. Wine . . . . . | 1,991,000 |
| 4. Spirits . . . . . | 2,211,000 |
| | £12,703,000 |

or more than half of the entire revenue derived from the customs.

With respect to this topic, it is enough to say that no considerable party in this country appears to contemplate any fundamental change in the system by which we supply a very large part of the wants of the Treasury through the medium of indirect taxation: and, so long as this is the case, any reductions of duty, which may be conceded from time to time, must always bear but a small proportion to the amount still continuing to be levied. But the four articles, which I have quoted as the most conspicuous and productive among those unaffected by the recent alterations, are none of them articles of the first rank in our trade. The aggregate values of the whole four, independent of duty, do not equal the value, taken singly, either of the cotton or of the sugar, or in most years of the grain, which we import.

There are only six other articles of any considerable importance to trade which remain, like the four above specified, subject to the same duties as those payable upon them before the Act of the 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47. They are these:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Tallow, which in 1844 yielded . | £174,000 |
| 2. Butter . . . . . | 136,000 |
| 3. Cheese . . . . . | 117,000 |
| 4. Raisins . . . . . | 159,000 |
| 5. Pepper . . . . . | 81,000 |
| 6. Silk manufactures of Europe . . | 277,000 |
| | £994,000 |

If, then, we divide our imports according to the revenue they yield, the major part have remained untouched; but, estimated according to value, that is, according to their commercial importance, they are a small fraction of the whole with regard to which this can be asserted.

Let us now, accordingly, examine the extent of these changes in regard to revenue.

The reductions of 1842 were originally estimated as involving a loss of about 1,200,000*l.*, but during the progress of the measure of that year they were extended in a variety of particulars, and they ultimately reached not less than (without any allowance, except upon timber, for partial recovery through increased consumption) 1,550,000*l.*

The principal items were estimated at the time as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Raw Materials :— | | |
| Timber . . . . . | £600,000 | |
| Tanning and dyeing stuffs . | 110,000 | |
| Hides and skins . . . | 60,000 | |
| Turpentine . . . . | 80,000 | |
| Clover seed . . . . | 70,000 | |
| Furniture woods . . . | 50,000 | |
| Other raw materials . . . | 165,000 | |
| | | £1,135,000 |
| 2. Articles of consumption :— | | |
| Coffee . . . . . | £240,000 | |
| Other articles of consumption and manufactures . . . | 86,000 | |
| | | 317,000 |
| 3. Exported manufactures . . . . . | | 100,000 |
| Total . . . . . | | 1,552,000 |
| Subtract the coal-duty . . . . | | 114,000 |
| There remains . . . . . | | £1,438,000 |

The mere view of these figures, indeed, gives no adequate representation of the changes made in 1842. Many of them which removed prohibitions, and lowered duties formerly prohibitory to a moderate standard, were important on account of the principle which they recognised even when their direct effects were small. Many of them which involved the greatest difficulty, and aroused the most serious alarm, have proved to be almost nugatory in their operation on the domestic interests that regarded them with so much apprehension. It may be said that there was no justification for creating such alarm, if, after all, no important consequences were to follow from the change. I will not interrupt this portion of the inquiry by any detailed examination of the objection. But, in the first place, it should be remembered, that the reduction of prohibitory duty may give the very stimulus to domestic trade which may cause the foreign article to be excluded by being undersold. Secondly, it affords a security for good and economical manufacture which otherwise would not exist. Thirdly, each case of the kind renders the course of British legislation with respect to commerce more and more definite and intelligible to the rest of the world.

In 1843 there were no remissions of duty. In 1844 the duties of customs remitted were as follow:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Sheep and lamb's-wool . . . . | £100,000 |
| 2. Currants (7*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. on 254,000 cwts.) | 91,000 |
| 3. Coffee (2*d.* per lb. on 9,854,000 lbs.) . . | 82,000 |
| | £273,000 |

Of the duties of customs comprehended in the remissions of the present year, the first and greatest, namely, that on sugar, was estimated by Sir Robert Peel in his financial statement on the 14th of February, as involving a loss of 1,300,000*l.*

With the present prospects of supply from British sources, and of the working of the proposed classification of sugars, I should prefer charging the reduction upon sugar, combined with that on molasses, at 1,500,000*l.* A large sum without doubt: but in order to estimate rightly the equivalent received by the consumer,

we must take into view the reduction of price effected by the measure of last year, of which the bill now in Parliament is avowedly the complement: this cannot be estimated at less than 4*s.* per cwt. To this we have now to add a reduction amounting to 11*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. The diminution, therefore, in the long or wholesale price amounts to 15*s.* 3*d.* per cwt.; and to this is to be added relief from the subsequent charges for interest of money and profit on that portion of the price. If these are taken at 1*s.* 1*d.* per cwt., which I think a moderate computation, the total saving to the consumer from this financial operation will be about $1\frac{3}{4}$*d.* per lb., or 16*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. Applying this to the quantity of 205,000 tons, which formed the consumption of the year 1844, we find the saving to the public will amount to no less than 3,348,000*l.*, which is purchased at a cost to the revenue of only 1,500,000*l.*, or less than one moiety of the benefit. We ought not, I admit, to set down among the sacrifices of the Exchequer anything more than it actually loses by the direct deduction of 11*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. from the tax. Thus computed, however, the amount still reaches to 2,306,000*l.*, while the loss to the revenue will probably be so far retrieved by an increase of consumption as to keep it down to 1,500,000*l.*, or about two-thirds of that sum. This calculation does not indeed pretend to minute accuracy; on the one hand it does not include any deduction on account of sugars to be charged at 16*s.* 4*d.* instead of 14*s.*; nor, on the other, any addition on account of the diminution of duty on molasses: but it seems to point out fairly the aggregate result.

The amount of taxation upon foreign trade remitted by the measures of the present year, as distinct from the balance of loss likely to be entailed upon the Treasury, may be stated as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Sugar . . . . . | £2,306,000 |
| 2. Cotton . . . . . | 680,000 |
| 3. Duties on other materials of industry and partially manufactured articles . . . . . | 320,000 |
| 4. Duty on coals, and minor export duties . . . | 125,000 |
| | £3,431,000 |

We have therefore the whole amount of direct receipt surrendered by Parliament during the last three years as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1842 . . . . | £1,438,000 |
| In 1844 . . . . | 273,000 |
| In 1845 . . . . | 3,431,000 |
| Total . . | £5,142,000 |

It appears, then, to be very worthy of note, that without taking into account the indirect benefit which has accrued from the extension of trade, or from the diminution of protective duties, the country has already received the reward of its submission to the income-tax in the removal, upon Customs duties alone, of an amount of taxation about as large as the sum which is yielded by that highly productive impost. The last year's return of the income-tax was 5,191,000*l.* This, however, does not present the whole case. In the Budget of 1842, on the one hand, a deficiency was calculated for the year 1842-3, amounting to 2,570,000*l.*, and so much of the income-tax as would absorb this deficiency was accordingly forestalled. On the other hand, duties other than those of customs, but in general connected with trade in other forms, have been repealed (or are now proposed for repeal), as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1842, on stage-coaches . | £70,000 |
| In 1844, on glass . . . | 45,000 |
| on vinegar . . | 25,000 |
| on marine insurances | 130,000 |
| In 1845, on glass . . | 642,000 |
| on auctions . . | 250,000 |
| | £1,162,000 |
| Add customs'-duties repealed | 5,142,000 |
| Total . | £6,304,000 |

If then we assume, as we reasonably may, that the service of the present year is adequately provided for, and the revenue will balance the expenditure, it appears that the free surplus of the

income-tax, over and above what was required to supply actual deficiency, or 2,621,000*l.*, has been most economically laid out, as the saving in other taxes realised by means of it has been 6,304,000*l.*, or more than double its amount. The question may be raised how far this is owing to the course of legislation, and how far to the buoyancy of the national industry: this, being well content with either cause, I am not curious to discuss; in *some* proportion it must evidently be divided between them.

III. Having thus measured, in its most general form, the bearing of the recent legislation on the revenue of the country, I now proceed to examine in some degree of detail the effects produced by the changes adopted in 1842 upon the revenue, and also upon our general trade with foreign parts. I propose first to consider these effects as they affect the various great Classes of commodities, distinguished by successive letters of the alphabet, into which the 'Expository Statement' is divided: and subsequently to take into view singly the cases of such particular articles as may appear on any ground to demand a separate notice.

I must then, in the first place, beg the particular attention of the reader to the abstract which has been prefixed to the 'Expository Statement,' and which I here introduce for the greater facility of inspection; premising, that the eight schedules into which each class of articles is divided, have reference to the amount of revenue produced, upon a mean of two years, by the respective articles under the operation of the Act 5 and 6 Vict., c. 47, according to the following scale:—

Schedule I. Contains all articles yielding less than £100 each annually.
„ II. From £100 to £500 each.
„ III. From £500 to £1000 each.
„ IV. From £1000 to £10,000 each.
„ V. From £10,000 to £50,000 each.
„ VI. From £50,000 to £100,000 each.
„ VII. Upwards of £100,000 each.
„ VIII. Articles free or prohibited.

TRACT of the Expository Statement, showing the Net Annual Produce of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS on all ARTICLES imported into the United Kingdom, in two Years preceding and i two Years following the establishment of the New Tariff (5 & 6 Vict. cap. 47).

| A. Articles in a raw state to be used in Manufactures.* | | | B. Articles partially Manufactured. | | | C. Articles wholly Manufactured. | | | D. Articles of Food.† | | | E. Articles not properly belonging to any of the foregoing Heads. | | | TOTAL. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties. | |
| | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the New Tariff. | | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the New Tariff. | | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the New Tariff. | | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the New Tariff. | | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the New Tariff. | | In two Years before the establishment of the New Tariff. | In two Years after the establishment of the Tariff. |
| | £. | £. | | £. | £. | | £. | £. | | £. | £. | | £. | £. | | £. | £. |
| 144 | 9,817 | 2,517 | 54 | 887 | 656 | 113 | 3,393 | 2,007 | 46 | 990 | 1,158 | 91 | 3,950 | 1,702 | 448 | 19,037 | 8,040 |
| 45 | 36,665 | 11,279 | 19 | 6,536 | 5,043 | 31 | 10,208 | 7,620 | 15 | 4,148 | 3,988 | 27 | 14,415 | 6,531 | 137 | 71,972 | 34,461 |
| 16 | 24,542 | 11,213 | 5 | 6,712 | 3,571 | 17 | 23,260 | 13,030 | 6 | 3,546 | 4,444 | 6 | 10,972 | 4,000 | 50 | 69,032 | 36,258 |
| 28 | 322,881 | 78,373 | 11 | 40,835 | 32,814 | 27 | 85,767 | 92,673 | 28 | 71,803 | 78,419 | 15 | 49,432 | 35,213 | 109 | 570,718 | 317,492 |
| 6 | 145,187 | 110,334 | 5 | 179,357 | 95,635 | 5 | 117,049 | 114,084 | 7 | 120,169 | 136,773 | 2 | 145,229 | 54,744 | 25 | 706,991 | 511,570 |
| 2 | 148,165 | 157,659 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 240,841 | 237,944 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 389,006 | 395,603 |
| 3 | 1,507,627 | 1,043,466 | 1 | 816,902 | 513,769 | 1 | 239,893 | 246,111 | 12 | 18,246,120 | 19,614,116 | .. | .. | .. | 17 | 20,810,542 | 21,417,462 |
| 8 | 196 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | 22 | 196 | .. |
| 252 | 2,195,080 | 1,414,841 | 95 | 1,051,229 | 651,488 | 196 | 479,570 | 475,525 | 121 | 18,687,617 | 20,076,842 | 149 | 223,998 | 102,190 | 813 | 22,637,494 | 22,720,886 |

* A.—The limits of this Class have been so far extended as to include some Articles which, though not strictly in a raw state, have undergone only a slight degree of preparation.

† D.—Into this Class have been thrown, not only those Articles which contribute immediately to Human Subsistence, but also some which are used chiefly or entirely as the food of cattle; and others, as Spices, Wine, and Tobacco, which properly belong to the class of condiments or stimulants.

*26th December*, 1844.

I have already described the reductions of customs' duty made in 1842 as removing direct charges upon trade to the extent of 1,552,000*l.*; and I have divided those reductions, after withdrawing the sum of 100,000*l.* for the repeal of duties upon exports, into two branches according as they fell

(1) Upon the raw materials of industry;

(2) Upon articles of consumption imported into this country;

| | |
|---|---|
| The amount of reductions under the first head was | £1,135,000 |
| The amount under the second . . . . | 317,000 |
| Making together . . | £1,452,000 |

Upon adverting to the five classes A, B, C, D, E, in the 'Expository Statement,' we shall perceive that classes A, B, and E contain the articles which may generally, though not with minute accuracy, be denominated the raw materials of industry, and which received remissions to the amount of 1,126,000*l.*, while classes C and D contain the two great divisions of articles prepared for consumption, viz., manufactured goods and articles of food, upon which, taken together, the remissions amounted to 326,000*l.* I shall therefore consider the three first together, and the two last together, as the most just and comprehensive mode of estimating the effect of the reductions.

But I have to make another and a material change in the arrangement of this Abstract. It purports to compare the mean receipts of two years antecedent to the law of 1842 (1838 and 1840) with those of the two years immediately subsequent to it. But instead of taking the mean products of these two latter years, I propose to take each year separately. There are several reasons for doing this. In the first place, for nearly four months of the earlier half of the year 1842 the new tariff had been announced, and its details were undergoing consideration. Deliveries of the articles affected by it were accordingly in a great degree suspended until the bill had become law in the commencement of July: and immediately afterwards unusually large quantities of goods were released, so that the first year shows in many cases rather more than is its due. No such objection applies to the second year, and it therefore affords a more just criterion of the working of the law.

But, besides this, the intention of Sir Robert Peel was declared to be, to reimburse the Exchequer for the remissions which he proposed—first, by their general effect upon trade and consumption—and, secondly, by augmenting the demand for the particular articles which were affected. Now, all recovery of this kind is of necessity gradual: and it is even more important, therefore, to ascertain what relation the second year of the new law bears to the first, than to know the relation which the two jointly bear to the period which preceded the alteration. And particularly we must observe that the presumptions in favour of the change are strengthened, if the second year shall be found to bear a favourable comparison with the first, on account of the factitious aid which, as has been explained, the first of necessity derived from the immediately preceding stagnation, pending the discussions on the measure. On every ground then it is desirable to distinguish the two years which are averaged in the Abstract now before Parliament.

I take first Class A, which contains, in general, articles the most strictly corresponding with the definition of raw materials.

| Class A. Articles in a raw state to be used in Manufactures. | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties in Two Years preceding the establishment of the New Tariff. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1842, to July 5, 1843. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1843, to July 5, 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I., containing articles that yield, under the new law, less than 100*l.* each of customs' duty . . | 144 | £. 9,817 | £. 2,488 | £. 2,443 |
| II. (100*l.* to 500*l.*) . . | 45 | 36,665 | 10,477 | 12,081 |
| III. (500*l.* to 1000*l.*) . | 16 | 24,542 | 11,227 | 11,199 |
| IV. (1,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*) | 28 | 322,881 | 83,845 | 72,902 |
| V. (10,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*) | 6 | 145,187 | 86,537 | 134,131 |
| VI. (50,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*) | 2 | 148,165 | 141,353 | 173,966 |
| VII. (upwards of 100,000*l.*) | 3 | 1,507,627 | 1,032,403 | 1,054,530 |
| VIII. (Free or prohibited under the new law) | 8 | 196 | | |
| | 252 | 2,195,080 | 1,368,330 | 1,461,252 |

Now of the 252 articles comprised in this class, I find that there have been duties reduced or removed by the law of 1842 (and in a few cases, which it is not worth while to distinguish, by subsequent acts) upon 215, viz. in

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I. on | 128 | Schedule V. on | 4 |
| „ II. | 38 | „ VI. | 1 |
| „ III. | 13 | „ VII. | 1 |
| „ IV. | 25 | „ VIII. | 5 |
| | | Total . | 215 |

The entire receipt from these 252 articles was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the new law | £2,195,080 |
| First year of the new law . . . | 1,368,330 |
| Showing a loss of | £826,750 |

But again:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the new law | £2,195,080 |
| Second year of the new law . . | 1,461,252 |
| Showing a loss of | £733,828 |
| Gain of the second year on the first . | £82,922 |

This, I think, should be deemed not unsatisfactory as an advance, in proportion to the time, towards the recovery of the revenue.

Let us now proceed to Class B.

| Class B. Articles partially Manufactured. | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties in Two Years preceding the establishment of the New Tariff. | Produce of Duties from July 5, 1842, to July 5, 1843. | Produce of Duties from July 5, 1843, to July 5, 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| Schedule I. | 54 | 887 | 673 | 637 |
| II. | 19 | 6,536 | 4,254 | 5,832 |
| III. | 5 | 6,712 | 4,000 | 3,143 |
| IV. | 11 | 40,835 | 21,516 | 44,113 |
| V. | 5 | 179,357 | 93,231 | 98,039 |
| VI. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| VII. | 1 | 816,902 | 397,470 | 630,069 |
| VIII. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| | 95 | 1,051,229 | 521,144 | 781,833 |

Of the 95 articles comprised in this Class, there have been reduced 89; viz. in

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I. . . | 50 | Schedule V. . . | 5 |
| „ II. . . | 17 | „ VI. . . | 0 |
| „ III. . . | 5 | „ VII. . . | 1 |
| „ IV. . . | 11 | „ VIII. . . | 0 |
| | | Total . . | 89 |

The entire receipt from this class was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47 . | £1,051,229 |
| First year after the Act . . . . . | 521,144 |
| Showing a loss of . . . | £530,085 |

But again—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the Act . . . | £1,051,229 |
| Second year after the Act . . . . . | 781,833 |
| Showing a loss of . . . | £269,396 |

And a gain of the second year on the first year,

| | |
|---|---|
| Amounting to . . . . . | £260,689 |

which is an advance much beyond the measure of all ordinary expectation.

The articles in the analogous class E are of less moment: but the exhibition of them is necessary to complete this part of the subject.

| Class E. Articles not properly belonging to any of the foregoing heads. | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties in Two Years preceding the establishment of the New Tariff. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1842, to July 5, 1843. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1843, to July 5, 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| Schedule I. | 91 | 3,950 | 1,927 | 1,476 |
| II. | 27 | 14,415 | 6,462 | 6,601 |
| III. | 6 | 10,972 | 4,310 | 3,690 |
| IV. | 15 | 49,432 | 33,593 | 36,833 |
| V. | 2 | 145,229 | 52,204 | 57,284 |
| VI. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| VII. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| VIII. | 8 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 149 | 223,998 | 98,496 | 105,884 |

Of the 145 articles comprised in this Class, there have been reduced 121; viz. in

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I. . . | 79 | Schedule V. . . | 2 |
| „ II. . . | 22 | „ VI. . . | 0 |
| „ III. . . | 5 | „ VII. . . | 0 |
| „ IV. . . | 13 | „ VIII. . . | 0 |
| | | Total . . | 121 |

The entire receipt has been as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the Act . . . | £223,998 |
| First year after the Act . . . . . | 98,496 |
| Showing a loss of . . . | £125,502 |

Again—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the Act . . . | £223,998 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . . | 105,884 |
| Showing a loss of . . . | £118,114 |

And a gain of the second year on the first—

| | |
|---|---|
| Amounting to . . . . . | £7,388 |

Let us now bring together these results.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean receipt on Class A before the Act . . | £2,195,080 |
| „ on Class B „ . . | 1,051,229 |
| „ on Class E „ . . | 223,998 |
| | £3,470,207 |

Receipt of the first year after the Act—

| | |
|---|---|
| On Class A . . . . . | £1,368,330 |
| On Class B . . . . . | 521,144 |
| On Class E . . . . . | 98,496 |
| | £1,987,970 |

Receipt of the second year after the Act—

| | |
|---|---|
| On Class A . . . . . | £1,461,252 |
| On Class B . . . . . | 781,833 |
| On Class E . . . . . | 105,884 |
| | £2,348,969 |
| Loss on the three Classes for the first year . | £1,482,237 |
| „ for the second . | 1,121,238 |
| Gain on the second as compared with the first . | £360,999 |

There are, however, some corrections which it is necessary to make in these figures.

1. The mean receipt of the two years before the Act of 5 and 6 Vict. should be charged with the drawback which was allowed on timber used in the mines under the provisions of the former law, amounting to about 60,000*l. per annum.*

2. The year from July 1843 to July 1844, should be credited with not less than 20,000*l.* on account of the abstraction of the duty on wool, which, under a new Act of the Legislature, actually took effect before it had expired, and had been announced, and must therefore have operated on deliveries from a considerably earlier period.

By these changes we reduce

| | |
|---|---|
| The loss on the first year to . . . . | £1,422,237 |
| The loss on the second year to . . . . | 1,061,238 |

And the recovery of revenue

| | |
|---|---|
| On the second year as compared with the first rises to . . . . . | £380,999 |

It appears to me that this general comparison of the second year with the first, under the new law, as to materials, is eminently satisfactory, and must encourage those who take a sanguine view of the energies of our productive industry.

The picture is less flattering when we compare the first year under the new law with the mean product of the two years of the old law. The reductions of 1842 on raw materials amounted, as has been already stated, to . . . . . £1,135,000

| | |
|---|---|
| But the ensuing defalcation of revenue on that description of commodities amounted to . | 1,422,237 |
| Showing an excess of loss above the estimate of . | 307,237 |

It will, however, be recollected that the twelve months from July 1842 to July 1843, were a period of extraordinary depression and distress to the trade of the country. The last six of them, or perhaps rather the last three, exhibited marks of par-

tial revival, which were aided both by the changes of the law and the reduced cost of subsistence. Still for the greater part of the time business had been contracted, and enterprise languid, in a degree quite sufficient to account for the excess of loss which has just been noted. In the second year this excess was retrieved, and the process of recovery had commenced, for whereas

| | |
|---|---|
| the reductions amounted to . . . . | £1,135,000 |
| The loss in the second year was . . . | 1,061,000 |
| Or, as 20,000*l.* may be set down to the account of the further measure regarding wool in 1844, the real loss in the second year was . . | 1,041,000 |

---

Up to this point, I have adverted only to that portion of the operation of 1842, which regarded materials intended for employment in our domestic industry. Even this involved, indeed, many points of conflict with protected interests: such as those relating to copper ore and other ores and metals, to hides and leather, to seeds, and to timber. Still its main bearing was in most particulars on the revenue of the country.

The other division of the remissions, which included only 317,000*l.* of revenue, involved in almost every case a diminution of protective duty. Before the Act of 1842, the general character of our Tariff with regard to manufactures, and in a great degree with regard to food, was prohibitory. But it may be said with truth, that from the moment when the provisions of that Act had taken effect, moderate duties of twenty per cent. and less were the rule of the Tariff of the United Kingdom, and high or prohibitory rates the exception.

This was indeed the most prominent and essential characteristic of the measure, so far as it affected the classes now under consideration. Out of 196 articles contained in Class C, 181 underwent reduction: yet I do not find that the remission of duties actually levied upon goods in it under the former law, could be estimated at more than 35,000*l.*, or at the most 40,000*l.*

| Class C. Articles wholly Manufactured. | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties in Two Years preceding the establishment of the New Tariff. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1842, to July 5, 1843. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1843, to July 5, 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| Schedule I. | 113 | 3,393 | 2,171 | 1,842 |
| II. | 31 | 10,208 | 7,248 | 7,992 |
| III. | 17 | 23,260 | 13,329 | 12,731 |
| IV. | 27 | 85,767 | 86,284 | 99,063 |
| V. | 5 | 117,049 | 105,148 | 123,020 |
| VI. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| VII. | 1 | 239,893 | 223,457 | 268,766 |
| VIII. | 2 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 196 | 479,570 | 437,637 | 513,414 |

The articles in Class C on which duty was reduced were, in

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I. . . | 108 | Schedule V. . . | 4 |
| „ II. . . | 29 | „ VI. . . | 0 |
| „ III. . . | 16 | „ VII. . . | 1 |
| „ IV. . . | 23 | „ VIII. . . | 0 |
| | | Total . | 181 |

Here we find the

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce before the Act . . . . | £479,570 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 437,637 |
| Loss . | £41,933 |

But for the second year the account stands as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce before the Act . . . . | £479,570 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . . | 513,414 |
| Increase . | £33,844 |
| Gain upon the second year as compared with the first | £75,777 |

But this result again requires correction. More than half of the revenue under Class C arises from silk goods, which, with their various divisions, stand under a single heading in the Tariff. They were not, however, altered by the law of 1842, except with regard to the silks of the East Indies. Let us therefore deduct from all these years the revenue on silks other than those of India; and the figures will stand as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce of two years before the Act . . | £252,351 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 217,091 |
| Loss . | £34,260 |
| And again— | |
| Mean produce of two years before the Act . . | £252,351 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . . | 248,855 |
| Loss . | £3,496 |
| Gain upon the second year as compared with the first | £37,756 |

Thus then it appears that, within the second year from the passing of the Act, the remissions of duty on manufactured goods were as nearly as possible replaced by the increased importations of them: a result worthy of remark in itself, but yet, as I think, less remarkable than another inference which arises from the inspection of this part of the Statement, and which I shall notice in another portion of these remarks.

We now come to Class D, containing articles of food, upon which the great mass of our customs' revenue has for a long time been levied. Seven-eighths of the whole receipt stand, as will be seen, to the account of this Class.

| Class D. Articles of Food. | Number of Articles. | Mean Annual Produce of Duties in Two Years preceding the establishment of the New Tariff. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1842, to July 5, 1843. | Produce of the Duties from July 5, 1843, to July 5, 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| Schedule I. | 46 | 990 | 1,241 | 1,074 |
| II. | 15 | 4,148 | 3,351 | 4,625 |
| III. | 6 | 3,546 | 4,311 | 4,577 |
| IV. | 28 | 71,803 | 80,451 | 76,388 |
| V. | 7 | 120,169 | 131,427 | 142,120 |
| VI. | 3 | 240,841 | 221,395 | 254,494 |
| Totals of Schedules I.—VI. | .. | 441,497 | 442,176 | 483,278 |
| Sched. VII. | 12 | 18,246,120 | 19,161,312 | 20,066,920 |
| VIII. | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 121 | 18,687,617 | 19,603,488 | 20,550,198 |

Of the 121 articles comprised in this Class, prohibitions were removed, or duties lowered, on 66, as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schedule I. . . | 30 | Schedule V. . . | 5 |
| „ II. . . | 9 | „ VI. . . | 0 |
| „ III. . . | 5 | „ VII. . . | 2 |
| „ IV. . . | 15 | „ VIII. . . | 0 |
| | | Total . | 66 |

On this class we find the

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce before the Act . . . . | £18,687,617 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 19,603,488 |
| Increase . | £915,871 |

And again—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce before the Act . . . . | £18,687,617 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . | 20,550,198 |
| Increase . | 1,862,531 |
| Gain on the second year as compared with the first | £946,710 |

These figures, however, may much more justly be taken as an index of the general prosperity of the country, than of the working of the Customs' Act of 1842. I have already named four great articles * upon which no reduction has taken place up to the present time, yielding twelve millions of money, besides others not inconsiderable: nor was there any change in the law relating to sugar, which yields five millions more, until the year 1844: nor has there been yet time for the change then made to produce any appreciable effects upon the revenue, as the supplies of the foreign article are only beginning to arrive. About seventeen millions, therefore, of the whole amount of duties have been practically unaffected by alterations in the law. It may indeed be true, that those alterations have tended powerfully, by their general effects upon trade, and therefore on consumption, to increase the receipts of the treasury from these great articles, and may thus claim the credit of a part of the excess which has been shown. But we may carry the investigation of the effects of the Act to a greater degree of precision by ejecting from the account

* Supra, p. 8.

all the great articles in Schedule VII., upon which either no change has been made, or no change of which the effects are perceptible within the period embraced by the 'Expository Statement.' Now coffee is the only article comprised in Schedule VII. of Class D, on which the duty was materially altered by the Act 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47. The duties on foreign corn had, however, already been regulated by a previous Act of the same year, and may therefore be taken into account. The total amount of the duties on these two articles was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Their mean produce in two years before the Act . | £1,475,027 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 2,053,748 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . . | 1,710,132 |

It is difficult to carry the examination of these items farther; because as to corn no safe inference can be drawn from a single year, though the experience of the last three years, which have elapsed since the present Act commenced, may be thought to demonstrate that it at least effected a very beneficial change as regarded the revenue: while, as to coffee, the result is obscured by a farther change in the duty which took effect before the second year had expired; and I propose therefore to examine that case more minutely by itself.

But if further we remove Schedule VI., in which no alteration of any moment was made in 1842, from the comparison, so as to confine our view yet more closely to results brought about by the immediate operation of the change in the law, it stands as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce of two years before the Act . . | £200,656 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 220,781 |
| Increase . | £20,125 |

And again—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce of two years before the Act . . | £200,656 |
| Second year under the Act . . . . . | 228,784 |
| Increase . | £28,128 |
| Gain upon the second year as compared with the first | £8,003 |

Again, if we combine Classes C and D, both of which may be said to contain articles of consumption as contradistinguished from raw materials, we have the following results:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean produce of Class C and of Class D, with exceptions as above specified, before the Act . | £453,007 |
| Joint produce of first year under the Act . . | 437,872 |
| Loss . | £15,135 |
| And further— | |
| Mean produce as before . . . . . | £453,007 |
| Joint produce of second year under the Act . . | 477,639 |
| Gain . | £24,632 |
| Gain on the second year as compared with the first | £39,767 |

Now the revenue remitted on these several descriptions of articles amounted to about 90,000*l.* a-year in round numbers; of which the whole was replaced in the first year, except 15,135*l.*, and was replaced in the second year with an addition of 24,632*l.*

The fiscal scale of this part of the operation was, it is true, contracted, but it was of great importance, and of great difficulty, in other points of view; and the result thus shown affords, as respects the treasury at least, an ample vindication of the wisdom of Parliament in the adoption of this part of the measure.

To conclude this portion of the subject, let us combine the two divisions in which we have thus far been considering it: but in order that the view given of the reductions effected by the new Tariff of 1842 upon imports, may be a complete one, I must include (though with some undue advantage to the first year and prejudice to the second) the receipts from coffee.

The reductions, with the exception of 100,000*l.* on exports, were—

| | |
|---|---|
| On materials . . . . . | £1,135,000 |
| On articles of consumption (Classes C, D, corrected as above) . . . . . | 317,000 |
| Total of reductions . . | £1,452,000 |

The effect upon the revenue is shown in the following figures:—

I. Receipts of the first year.

1. Mean of two years before the 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Class A . . . . | £2,195,080 | |
| Deduct for timber drawback . | 60,000 | |
| | £2,135,080 | |
| Class B . . . . | 1,051,229 | |
| Class E . . . . | 223,998 | |
| | £3,410,207 | |
| Class C . . . . | 252,351 | |
| Class D, including coffee . | 1,003,972 | |
| Total | | £4,666,550 |

2. First year under the Act:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Class A . . . . | £1,368,330 | |
| Class B . . . . | 521,144 | |
| Class E . . . . | 98,496 | |
| | £1,987,970 | |
| Class C . . . . | 217,091 | |
| Class D, including coffee . | 1,002,503 | |
| Total | | £3,207,564 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Actual loss for the first year on all the Classes together . . . . . | £1,458,986 |
| Estimated amount of reductions as above . | 1,452,000 |
| Thus the total loss on the five Classes exceeded the estimate by the sum of about . | £6,986 |

II. Receipts of the second year.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Mean revenue of two years before the 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47, as above . . . | | £4,666,550 |
| 2. Second year under the Act, Class A . . | £1,461,252 | |
| Add on account of loss from the repeal of the Wool Duties in 1844 . . | 20,000 | |
| Total | £1,481,252 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward . . | | £1,481,252 | £4,666,550 |
| Class B . . . . | | 781,833 | |
| Class E . . . . | | 105,884 | |
| | | £2,368,969 | |
| Class C . . . . | | 248,855 | |
| Class D, without coffee . . | £228,784 | 915,462 | |
| Coffee . . | 686,678 | | |
| | | | £3,533,286 |
| Actual loss on the second year . . . | | | £1,133,264 |
| Gain on the second year as compared with the first, on all the Schedules affected by the reductions of 1842, and on coffee . . . | | | £325,722 |

From this view of the tables, first in the several classes into which they are divided, and secondly as a whole, I now pass to consider the general outline of the Act of 1842, and to estimate rudely its effect upon the import trade of the country.

The Act of that year was not merely an Act involving a considerable remission of duties: it was the first attempt to apply general rules to the construction of the tariff of the United Kingdom, and was also the most comprehensive modification of the restrictive system which had ever been accomplished.

Mr. Pitt, in 1787, found our customs' law a mass of intricacy and confusion. He stated to Parliament the object of his great reform. 'The mode in which he proposed to remedy this great abuse was by abolishing all the duties which now subsisted in this confused and complex manner, and to substitute in their stead one single duty on each article, amounting, as nearly as possible, to the aggregate of all the various subsidies already paid.'* Also 'in some few articles,' for example timber, he meant to introduce 'regulations of much greater extent;' but such was the *general* scope of his arrangement.

During the war, and during the first years of peace, many augmentations of duty took place: some for purposes of revenue,

* Parliamentary History, xxvi., 629.

but with the effect of enhancing the stringency of protection; some for protective purposes alone.

The tariff underwent a general revision in 1819 by the Act 59 Geo. III. c. 52; and again, under the government of Lord Grey (which had failed in 1831 to carry a plan for the reduction of the timber duties), a large number of minor duties were reduced in the years 1832 and 1833; but it was in the interval between these two periods that the most important relaxations of the prohibitory and protective system were introduced into the law, first by Mr. Wallace, and afterwards and principally by Mr. Huskisson. Still it continued to contain some prohibitions, and a very great number of prohibitory rates of duty; and no approximation to unity of principle was discernible in its structure as a whole.

In 1842 it was attempted to make a general approach to the following rules:—

1. The removal of prohibitions.
2. The reduction of duties on manufactured articles, and of protective duties generally, to an average of 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*
3. On partially manufactured articles to rates not exceeding 10 per cent.
4. On raw materials to rates not exceeding 5 per cent.

The duties were then reduced on about 660 articles. Many changes were made which were of great importance to the consumer or to some branch of trade, but which cost little to the revenue, or were even, in some cases, positively profitable. I allude particularly to the changes affecting cattle, salt meat, seeds, oils, manures, leather, and ores, as belonging to these two classes.

It is very difficult to form any general estimate of the effect of the measure of 1842 upon the import trade of the country, which shall even approach to precision. Still I think a rude view of this important subject may be presented by means of the tables of official valuations, which reduce the quantities of articles im-

ported to a common measure. We have these valuations printed for the years 1841, 1842, 1843.* I reject 1842, which was almost equally divided between the old law and the new; and I take 1841 as the latest full year of the old law, and 1843 as the first full year of the new one.

The official values of imports into the United Kingdom were—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the year 1841 . . . . | £64,377,952 |
| „ 1843 . . . . | 70,093,353 |
| Increase . . | £5,715,401 |

But there are two articles of importance which it may be better to exclude from this comparison—cotton and corn—inasmuch as the quantities of them which we receive in one year as compared with another depend much more upon the respective crops of those products in America and England than upon any increased facilities in the means of exchange. The official values imported in 1841 were—

| | |
|---|---|
| Of cotton . . . . . | £15,948,384 |
| Of corn . . . . . | 5,238,389 |
| | £21,186,773 |

And in 1843—

| | |
|---|---|
| Of cotton . . . . . | £22,282,365 |
| Of corn . . . . . | 2,048,768 |
| | £24,331,133 |

Deducting these amounts from the respective totals, we have the official values of imports—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the year 1841 . . . . | £43,191,139 |
| „ 1843 . . . . | 45,762,220 |
| Increase . . | £2,571,081 |

* Finance Accounts, Paper No. 147, of 1844, pp. 131-36.

This is a rude, but I do not think by any means an excessive, statement of the increase of general trade which had been realized in 1843, and of which a considerable part may be considered due to the alterations of the law. It is likely that the returns for 1844 may bear a stronger testimony to its influence.

I will now proceed to examine the two most conspicuous among all the reductions of duty on particular articles which were enacted in 1842, namely, the cases of timber and coffee; and first, that of timber.

This is a most important subject: and the error of the government and of parliament, which adopted, without division, the most essential parts of the proposal, was, if an error at all, a very great one.

It is a subject to try the faith of political economists. Some of them there are, who have shrunk from the sacrifice of a great amount of revenue, which they think might have been spared: and have consistently denounced the plan of 1842 as a waste of public money, while they have been friendly to its principle so far as it involved diminution of the differential duty between colonial and foreign wood.

Upon the other hand, there is much to urge, besides the claim of the colony of Canada, as a colony then recently recovered from two rebellions, and the claim of the subsisting interests in the trade to be as gently handled as a regard to public objects would allow.

First, it is very doubtful whether the revenue, such as it stood in the years immediately preceding 1842, could have been entirely preserved. I do not advert now to the distress of the particular period; but to the permanent operation of the old scale of duties. The premium on colonial timber was so enormous, that it was gradually tending to reduce the proportion of Baltic wood brought into the market. And likewise the article of iron was displacing wood in various important branches of its consumption,

Secondly, it must never be forgotten that the scale of duties upon timber was *doubly* differential. The duty of 55*s.* per load was, so far as regarded 45*s.* of its amount, a differential duty against foreign and in favour of colonial wood. But the whole duty both of 55*s.* on foreign and of 10*s.* on colonial wood, was a

differential impost in favour of British-grown wood and against the growths both of our colonies and of foreign countries.

In the year 1841, the then existing administration proposed to reduce the foreign duty by an almost insensible amount, namely, from 55*s.* to 50*s.*; and to raise the colonial duty from 10*s.* to 20*s.* This plan would have reduced the protection of the colonist against the foreigner from 45*s.* per load to 30*s.* per load; but also it would have increased that of the home-grower of wood against the colonist by 10*s.* per load, and would have reduced it against the foreigner by only 5*s.* per load. It would have borne hardly upon the intermediate party, the colonist, who was thus smitten on both sides: it would have added, I believe, nothing whatever at the moment, and subsequently very little, to the revenue: 5*s.* per load would have been the maximum of possible relief to the consumer. Further, with this plan it would scarcely have been possible either to have abolished the drawback allowed to the Cornish miners, which appears to have cost the country 60,000*l.* per annum, or to have introduced the measurement of sawn wood according to cubic contents, which really means taking wood according to the dimensions to which Providence ordains that it shall grow, instead of regulating those dimensions by the schedules of a Customs' Act.

The plan actually adopted, on the other hand, which imposed a duty of 1*s.* per load on colonial and 25*s.* per load on foreign timber, involved a loss of 600,000*l.* per annum: and although it was in one view much more favourable to the colonist, since it placed him nearly upon an equality with the British grower of timber in our ports, yet as against the foreigner it left him only a protection of 24*s.* instead of 30*s.* The British grower, again, who, in the case of an article so essential and of such heavy cost of transport will find in general briskness of trade by much his most effective safeguard, lost 30*s.* per load of his defence against foreign wood and nearly the whole of his preference over his colonial fellow-subjects. But the gain to the consumer, which, if there be truth in political economy, could not exceed 5*s.* per load under the plan of 1841, by the plan of 1842 might reach, and on the whole, I apprehend, has already nearly reached, 30*s.* per load.

There was one argument for a large revenue from timber, the argument of possession. It was no mere speculation: we had it in hard money, a million and a half annually. But I know no other apology for such a mode of taxation under ordinary circumstances. It may be by one degree less impolitic than the imposition of a heavy duty without drawback upon the raw material of some manufacture which we export largely: but I know no argument that can be offered in its defence, which would not vindicate *à fortiori* such taxes as a heavy duty of excise upon coals, upon iron, or upon manures. If there be but one of the mazy paths of fiscal legislation which we may tread fearlessly and firmly, surely it is that in which we reduce the burdens upon such raw materials of industry as are of great bulk in proportion to their value, and as stand in the first order of necessity.

Passing, however, from the general discussion, I have now to inquire into the operation of the measure. As regards the dealings in the article, with the exception of some local inconveniences, which, as might be expected, accompanied the great alteration that was made in the mode of charging the duty, I gather from the reports of eminent houses in the trade, and from the figures indicating the consumption, that it has been eminently satisfactory. As regards revenue, I shall endeavour to show that we have reason to be well contented with its effects.

Sir Robert Peel, in his financial statement for the year 1842, estimated his first year's loss at 600,000*l.*: and the second year's at 590,000*l.*

I subjoin a statement of the gross and net quarterly revenue from timber during three years before the new system took effect, and also during two years after it.

(I.)—An Account of the RECEIPTS from TIMBER in each Quarter of Three Years antecedent to 10th October, 1842: also, REPAYMENTS for Drawbacks, and NET RECEIPT remaining in each of those Quarters.

(II.)—A similar Account for each Quarter from 10th October, 1842, to 10th October, 1844.

| | QUARTERS ended | Duties on Wood and Timber in the United Kingdom. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Gross Receipt. | Drawbacks and Repayments. | Net Produce. |
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| I.— | 5th January, 1840 | 382,542 | 33,258 | 349,284 |
| | 5th April, ,, | 263,681 | 12,046 | 251,635 |
| | 5th July, ,, | 416,269 | 29,806 | 386,463 |
| | 10th October, ,, | 733,344 | 6,204 | 727,140 |
| | | 1,795,836 | 81,314 | 1,714,522 |
| | 5th January, 1841 | 401,295 | 32,226 | 369,069 |
| | 5th April, ,, | 259,782 | 10,812 | 248,970 |
| | 5th July, ,, | 349,796 | 31,603 | 318,193 |
| | 10th October, ,, | 652,015 | 5,972 | 646,043 |
| | | 1,662,888 | 80,613 | 1,582,275 |
| | 5th January, 1842 | 327,865 | 35,753 | 292,112 |
| | 5th April, ,, | 213,621 | 6,479 | 207,142 |
| | 5th July, ,, | 211,453 | 35,370 | 176,083 |
| | 10th October ,, | 380,237 | 2,692 | 377,545 |
| | | 1,133,176 | 80,294 | 1,052,882 |
| II.— | 5th January, 1843 | 228,012 | 29,433 | 198,579 |
| | 5th April, ,, | 121,088 | 18,086 | 103,002 |
| | 5th July, ,, | 160,942 | 22,006 | 138,936 |
| | 10th October, ,, | 162,539 | 4,243 | 158,296 |
| | | 672,581 | 73,768 | 598,813 |
| | 5th January, 1844 | 285,182 | 16,654 | 268,528 |
| | 5th April, ,, | 147,750 | 3,230 | 144,520 |
| | 5th July, ,, | 210,748 | 5,490 | 205,258 |
| | 10th October ,, | 345,954 | 2,233 | 343,721 |
| | | 989,634 | 27,607 | 962,027 |

Now it will be necessary to make several qualifications of this statement before we can draw a just comparison between the periods to which it refers.

1. The drawback of about 60,000*l.* a-year, on timber used in the mines of Cornwall, was a regular attendant of the old law, and forms a legitimate deduction from the gross receipt. But the sums charged on this account in the years 1843 and 1844 were liabilities incurred in the preceding years which stood over, and ought not to be charged to the debit of the new system. I shall, therefore, make a corresponding deduction from the sum of 73,768*l.*, charged for drawbacks and repayments in 1842-3, and I shall withdraw (by conjecture) for the same reason half of the 27,607*l.*, which appears for 1843-4.

It will be seen that in the table the total amount of repayments before the change in the law exceeds 80,000*l.* annually, but rather more than a fourth of this amount was disbursed on wood other than that used in the mines.

2. The diminution of half a million in the last year of the first term is owing, without doubt, in some degree to that stagnation of the trade which prevailed to a great extent from the middle of March, 1842, when the new duties were announced, to the 10th of October, when they took effect. But there is, it will be observed, a decrease on the receipt of the first quarter amounting to 77,000*l.* as compared with the corresponding quarter of the foregoing year: it having fallen from 369,000*l.* to 292,000*l.*, and this before any change in the law could well have been anticipated. Hence it is clear, that a great diminution in this branch of the revenue must have taken place if the law had continued as it was: and indeed the fact is otherwise notorious, that the timber-market was thoroughly glutted, and the demand extremely feeble at the time. Still, as it is not easy to assign to each of these concurrent causes their due share in producing the effect, I propose to leave out the year 1841-2 altogether, and to adopt another mode of ascertaining what allowance ought to be made for the stagnation of all building enterprise, in estimating the consequences of the alteration of the law.

3. With this view I have procured a statement of the produce

of the brick-duty in the years 1840-4, and I propose to take the decline of it in the years 1843 and 1844 as compared with 1840 and 1841, as a criterion of the decline which would have occurred in the timber-duty if the law had remained without change. I think there is every reason to suppose it would even have been greater. The periods do not precisely correspond, as the years of the timber account begin on the 10th of October, and the years of the brick account on the 5th of January: but this is to the disadvantage of my argument, as the period taken for bricks being by nearly three months later represents a more advanced stage of that commercial recovery which was in progress during the years 1843 and 1844:—

| | |
|---|---|
| The receipt from bricks in 1840 was . . . | £524,000 |
| „ „ in 1841 . . . . | 449,000 |
| Mean of the two . . . . | 486,000 |
| The receipt from bricks in 1843 was . . . | 363,000 |
| „ „ in 1844 . . . . | 447,000 |
| Mean of the two . . . . | 405,000 |
| The net receipt from timber in 1840, or rather from October 10, 1839, to October 10, 1840, was . . | 1,714,000 |
| In the year October 10, 1840, to October 10, 1841 . | 1,582,000 |
| Mean of the two . . . . | 1,648,000 |

We have, therefore, the following proportion:—

£486,000 : £405,000 : : £1,648,000 : $x$,

$x$ being the probable annual receipt from the timber-duty between October 10, 1842, and October 10, 1844, under the old law. On working this sum, we find

$$x = £1,373,000.$$

Which I therefore assume as the standard of comparison to try the new law:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Probable annual receipt from timber under the old scale of duties from October 10, 1842, to October 10, 1844 . . . . . | | £1,373,000 |
| Actual receipt, first year, gross . . | £672,581 | |
| Deduct for repayments . . . . | 13,768 | |
| Net receipt . . . . . | | 658,813 |
| Loss . . . . . | | £714,187 |

Again:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Probable receipt from the old duties, as before . . | | £1,373,000 |
| Actual receipt, second year, gross . . | £989,634 | |
| Deduct for repayments . . . . | 13,803 | |
| Net receipt . . . . . | | 975,831 |
| Loss . . . . . | | £397,169 |
| Gain upon the second year as compared with the first | | 317,018 |

Thus the loss upon the first year was greater by 114,000*l.* than Sir Robert Peel's estimate: but such was the progress of recovery that in the second year it was less than his estimate (of 590,000*l.*) by no less than 193,000*l.*: and the mean loss of the two years, ascribable, with any presumption of justice, to the change in the law, was 555,500*l.*, less by about 40,000*l.* per annum than the allowance he had made.

Some persons may be surprised at the very great difference between the first year and the second: but it may, I think, readily be accounted for by the fact that a second reduction of 5*s.* per load on timber and 6*s.* per load on deals took effect at the commencement of the second year, and that a considerable quantity of goods, held back for the benefit of this reduction, go to the account of the second year, whereas in the natural course of things they would have belonged to the first.

When, however, it is remembered, how peculiar was the course of the timber-trade and the mode of preparing deals for the British market under the former law, that we have only two years of the new system before us, and that timber does not come here until the year after it is cut, I think it is evident that another twelvemonth at least must elapse before we can fully appreciate the benefits of the alteration which has been made.

As, however, it was confidently predicted by many persons that the consumer would not obtain the benefit of the great reduction of the duties on foreign timber, I have referred to trustworthy sources of information, and have obtained the following results:—

Price of Dantzic or Memel timber in the London market per load, duty paid:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| January, 1842 . . . . . | | £5 | 12 | 6 |
| January, 1845, 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* 10*s.* . | Mean | £4 | 8 | 9 |
| Reduction to the consumer in 1845 . . . | | £1 | 3 | 9 |

Again:

Dantzic fir, common and middling, sold in Liverpool,*

In January, 1841, for 26½*d.* to 27*d.* . . , . Mean 26¾*d.* per foot.
„ 1842 „ 24½*d.* to 25½*d.* . . . . Mean 25*d.* „
„ 1845 „ 19½*d.* to 21*d.* . . . . Mean 20¼*d.* „

Showing a reduction in 1845,

As compared with 1841, of 6½*d.* per foot, or 27*s.* 1*d.* per load.
„ „ 1842, of 4¾*d.* „ 19*s.* 10*d.* „

Which latter, however, was a period of very great depression in the wood trade, and not such as to exhibit with any fairness the ordinary state of the market.

I take next the article of coffee, the second in importance of those on which material reductions were made in the year 1842.

The duty was lowered on British coffee from 6*d.* to 4*d.* per lb., and on foreign from a rate nominally of 15*d.*, and really of 9*d.* (with an addition of extra charges making it perhaps equal to a burden of 10*d.*), to 8*d.* per lb. The first loss was calculated at 226,000*l.*; but it was hoped that so much of this would be made up by increased consumption as to leave an actual defalcation of only 170,000*l.*

Now, on turning to the 'Expository Statement,'† we find that the produce of the duties on coffee was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean of two years before the Act 5 and 6 Vict. c. 47 . | £803,316 |
| First year under the Act . . . . . | 781,722 |
| Loss . . . . | £21,594 |

Much coffee, however, was held back during the four months of discussions on the new table of duties, and swelled beyond its just proportions the receipt for the first year.

Again, the receipt of the second year under the Act was interrupted by the further change of the duty on foreign coffee from

* See Circular of Messrs. James Houghton and Co., brokers, for Feb. 1845.
† P. 158.

6*d.* to 4*d.* per lb. in 1844. We may however estimate, with tolerable accuracy, the effect of this latter reduction by reference to the receipts for the year 1844, as compared with the year 1843, which are given in the tables on trade and navigation, presented to Parliament on February 12, 1845.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The revenue from coffee for 1843 was . . | £697,983 |
| The revenue for 1844 was . . . . | 682,218 |
| Less in 1844 by . . . | £15,765 |

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his financial statement for 1844, had estimated his loss at 50,000*l.*; and the immediate remission of 2*d.* per lb. on 9,854,000 lbs., the quantity of foreign coffee consumed in 1843, amounted to 82,200*l.*

In this case much must be allowed for the advancing prosperity of the nation, and something for the gradually growing use of coffee as compared with other commodities; but enough will surely remain to warrant the assertion that the reductions upon coffee have been, up to the present time, eminently successful in their effects with regard to the revenue and also, if progressive extension of demand may be taken as a criterion, to the consumer.

I shall next extract from the 'Expository Statement' the most important, after timber, of those raw materials and accessories of industry on which remissions of duty were then granted. These I consider, speaking generally, to be the following articles:—

1. Hides.
2. Turpentine.
3. Palm-oil.
4. Olive-oil.
5. Bark.
6. Mahogany.
7. Rosewood.
8. Lard.
9. Copper-ore.
10. Train and sperm oil.
11. Iron.

But of these I shall not include copper-ore, because, although the trade has increased since the Act of 1842, the allegation of those interested in it is, that the burden of duty then imposed as the condition of being allowed to smelt in this country much more than counterbalanced any advantage attending an admission to the home-market.† Nor lard, nor train and sperm oil, because

* Paper No. 18, Sess. 1845.

† Before the law of 1842 the duty on copper-ore was prohibitory, but parties were allowed to smelt in bond for export. By that law the prohibitory duty was very greatly reduced, but the privilege of smelting in bond was withdrawn.

those cases are complicated by the direct competition of the foreign and British article, and should rather be considered in connexion with another branch of the subject. Nor iron, because the demand for foreign iron has, I apprehend, suffered more by improved modes of preparation for British iron than it could gain by a diminution of the customs' duty. After withdrawing these, there remain seven articles which will afford considerable information with regard to the working of the altered law.

The deliveries for consumption, however, of the first year were so much enlarged in most of these cases by the great inducement to hold back for the reduction of duty, which operated during the discussions of 1842, that I shall notice only the second year's returns, as a fairer standard of comparison.

| Articles. | Estimated First Loss by the Reduction of Duty. | Mean Entries for Consumption in 1838 and 1840. | Entries for Consumption, July 1843—44. | Mean Revenue of 1838 and 1840. | Revenue, July 13, 1843—44. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | | | £. | £. |
| 1. Hides . . | 45,000 | 349,903 cwts. | 551,550 cwts. | 48,976 | 8,029 |
| 2. Turpentine . | 80,500 | 365,621 „ | 509,410 „ | 82,056 | 2,237 |
| 3. Palm-oil . | 11,000 | 293,936 „ | 393,491 „ | 18,817 | 10,394 |
| 4. Olive-oil . | 24,000 | 7,960 tuns | 9,591 tuns | 42,897 | 20,940 |
| 5. Bark . . | 13,000 | 625,612 cwts. | 894,783 cwts. | 20,874 | 11,983 |
| 6. Mahogany . | 42,000 | 22,957 tons | 22,885 tons | 52,494 | 11,345 |
| 7. Rosewood . | 8,500 | 1,671 „ | 2,864 „ | 10,190 | 2,926 |

In the next table I bring out the results upon trade in a more definite shape :—

| Articles. | Actual Loss of Revenue on each Article. | Quantities added to the Trade. | Assumed Value of the Unit. | Value added to the Trade. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | | | £. |
| 1. Hides . . . | 36,971 | 201,647 cwts. | 45*s.* over all | 453,706 |
| 2. Turpentine . | 79,819 | 133,789 „ | 8*s.* „ | 53,510 |
| 3. Palm-oil . . | 8,423 | 99,455 „ | 25*s.* „ | 123,774 |
| 4. Olive-oil . . | 21,957 | 1,631 tuns | 60*l.* „ | 97,860 |
| 5. Bark . . . | 8,891 | 269,171 cwts. | 7*s.* „ | 94,210 |
| 6. Mahogany . | 41,148 | — 72 tons | 10*l.* „ | — 720 |
| 7. Rosewood . | 7,264 | 1,198 „ | 10*l.* „ | 11,980 |
| Total . . | 204,473 | .. | .. | 834,720 |

Thus we find, with a sacrifice of 204,000*l.* in duties on raw materials, an extension of trade in them to the extent of 834,000*l.* I should describe this as a satisfactory and sufficient rather than as a very remarkable result.

It would be easy to present others which are, in a financial view, much more striking: in cases where duties nearly prohibitory, or other impolitic arrangements, were amended.

For instance, the mean produce of the duties on foreign sperm-oil, train-oil, and whale-fins, in 1838 and 1840, was 10,463*l.*, the duties then being 26*l.* 12*s.* per tun on the two former, and 4*l.* 15*s.* per cwt. on the latter. Indeed it was only the prevalence of enormous prices at home that caused the entry of the sperm-oil which yielded almost the whole of this small revenue.

But on the 5th of July, 1843, the duties were reduced, under the provisions of the Act of 1842, as follows:—On sperm-oil, from 26*l.* 12*s.* to 15*l.*; on train-oil, from 26*l.* 15*s.* to 6*l.*; and on whale-fins, from 4*l.* 15*s.* per cwt. to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*—a rate probably equal to about 20*s.* per cwt., or little more. The revenue yielded in the year from that day to July 5, 1844, was—

| | |
|---|---|
| On sperm-oil . . . | £44,272 |
| On train-oil . . . . | 6,663 |
| On whale-fins . . . | 6,530 |
| Total . . . | £57,465 |

So that a gain of nearly 50,000*l.* for one year followed upon this reduction. I may add that, owing to increased demand, there was a simultaneous improvement in the prices of sperm-oil as compared with their previous range.

Again, copper-ore, which yielded no revenue under the former law, produced about 47,000*l.* in the first year after the Act of 1842, and nearly 70,000*l.* in the second, with no contraction, but, on the contrary, with an expansion of the smelting operations of the country.

Again, lard, at a duty of 8*s.* per cwt., yielded in 1840 the sum of 30*l.* In the first year of the new law, at 2*s.* per cwt., it was entered to such an extent as to produce 4946*l.*, and in the second year 7980*l.*

In the year 1840, thrown silk yielded a revenue of only 725*l.*,

the chief part of the importation paying a duty of 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. A drawback was allowed which absorbed nearly the whole receipt —and, indeed, in 1838, there was an excess of repayment over revenue to the extent of 5398*l.* In the first year of the new law the debentures due under the old one again absorbed the whole revenue; but in the second year the balance of net receipts amounted to 16,420*l.*

I will give two other instances, in which duties were reduced for the purpose of driving the smuggler, if possible, out of the market.

Under the former law watches were charged at 25 per cent. *ad valorem*: the value entered in 1840 was 5084*l.*, and the duty paid was 1387*l.* In 1842 the duty was reduced to 10 per cent.: the value entered rose to 52,622*l.*, and the duty paid to 5391*l.*

The duty on thread lace was reduced in 1842 from 30 per cent to 12½ per cent. on the value, with the active concurrence (a rare example) of the parties engaged in carrying on the trade at home. The entry under the head Thread Lace in the 'Statement' shows an increase only of about one-fourth in the quantities entered under the new law; but another heading had been introduced for all lace made by the hand, including thread lace, under which a large and apparently increasing quantity has been entered:* so that in this instance, also, we may hope that the province of the smuggler has at least been greatly narrowed.

I have still one portion of the 'Statement' to subject to further

---

* I believe that the annexed figures will represent pretty accurately the effect of the alteration in the duty upon thread lace.

*Duty received on Thread Lace.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1838 | £1,392 12 0 | Rate of duty 30 per Cent. |
| 1839 | 2,403 8 6 | ,, |
| 1840 | 1,791 6 5 | ,, |
| 1841 | 1,239 19 10 | ,, |
| 1842 | 1,001 17 4 | ,, |
| | 2,515 8 7 | Pillow Lace. |
| | £3,517 5 11 | Duty reduced in July, 1842, to 12½ per Cent. |
| 1843 | 953 5 2 | |
| | 7,611 17 7 | Pillow Lace. |
| | £8,565 2 9 | Duty 12½ per Cent. |

examination: that of articles of consumption, by which I mean such as are comprised in classes C and D, with reference to the effects of the late reductions upon protected interests.

I have already shown how easily the revenue surrendered under these classes recovered itself, which, of course, could only be by increased importations, and it is not difficult to name many articles on which such increase has taken place: gloves, boots and shoes, damask and diaper linens, corks, toys, prints and drawings, India silks, tanned leather, and many more, in Class C; and in Class D, animals, fish, lard, salt provisions, potatoes, onions, and some other vegetables.

IV.—But I own it appears to me impossible for any person who has been cognisant from the beginning of the discussions in and out of Parliament relating to the Act of 1842, who has noticed the fears and hopes with which in different quarters many of the new duties were regarded—and, finally, who has examined the results of the change with any care—to do otherwise than rest in the conclusion that both those hopes and fears were by many persons enormously exaggerated, and that, as a general (I by no means say an invariable) rule, British industry has much less to apprehend than was commonly, perhaps almost universally, supposed, from the effects of foreign competition in the domestic market.

This, however, is a subject too important to be discussed without careful illustration; and, in order to afford it, I shall have occasion to refer both to debates which took place in Parliament, and likewise to representations made, and I believe most honestly made in many cases, to the Government with reference to the certainty of the most destructive consequences if they should persevere in the proposals which they had submitted to Parliament.

Some parties obtained partial concessions which, forming my judgment at this time with the aid of the experimental results, I should say, had better in almost every instance have been withheld: some kicked and plunged vigorously, but in vain; and some made up their minds to ruin with a decent composure. Many who resisted because they thought the sacrifice demanded of them too great—and many more who thought it their duty,

under the distressed circumstances of the country, not to refuse it, however large—must have been alike surprised to discover, by subsequent experience, in how numerous cases the mountain has simply, as of old, produced the mouse.

There were, indeed, some rather sharp and stringent effects on prices caused by the legislation of 1842; and particularly I would name the case of the Irish provision trade. But these were the exceptions. As a general rule they were gentle and insensible; and in many cases where the very greatest and most boisterous alarm had existed, absolutely null. There is no worthy satisfaction in reverting simply to the circumstance that expectations which had been extensively entertained were very generally falsified. But there is a most just pleasure attaching to the discovery that the power of British skill and labour are greater than we had believed them to be; and this is the most important proposition established by the smallness of results which followed upon many very great reductions of duty.

Nearly one hundred and fifty questions were discussed between the Government and the various interests which were, or believed themselves to be, affected by the changes proposed in the law; and twenty-six divisions were taken in the House of Commons, many of which, however, were in favour of more sweeping propositions than those of the Government. But I will go to particulars.

And first I will point out that where there has been an increase large enough to be worth naming in the import of an agricultural or manufactured product, it has still been in almost every instance confined within very moderate bounds. For example, from the first class.

The duty on potatoes was reduced from 2*s.* to 2*d.* per cwt., although the Government was confidently assured by a deputation to the Board of Trade, on the 12th of April, 1842, that, with so small a protection, the cultivation of them in Yorkshire must be abandoned. The import rose from 1794 cwts., in 1840, to 99,062 cwts., or nearly 5000 tons, in the second year of the new law. But this quantity is little more than the crop of 600 acres of land; and constitutes but one-sixtieth part of the estimated

consumption of the metropolis alone, perhaps one six-hundredth part of the consumption of the country.

The duty on onions was reduced from 3*s.* to 6*d.* The quantity increased from 14,500 bushels in 1840, to 34,900 in the second year of the new law. Now this quantity, I believe, is the yield of about 116 acres of land: whereas I have been informed that, in the county of Essex alone, eight or ten times that breadth is occupied in raising not onions, but onion-seed.

Again, among manufactured articles. The importation of men's boots rose from 4800 pairs to 12,900 pairs, and shoes of the same description from 1100 pairs to 3700 pairs. But if we assume that each male person in the metropolis and its vicinity wears out two pairs of boots or shoes annually, it will appear that the increase in the foreign supply of between 10,000 and 11,000 pairs can scarcely amount to more than one-hundredth part of the demand for that portion of the population of the country taken alone. In the case of women's boots and shoes there is an increase of about double the number of pairs, which might possibly supply about 2 per cent. of the corresponding demand.

In another class of cases where the first proposition of the Government was regarded as utterly ruinous, and some modification of it took place in consequence of the apparent strength of the representations, or of the indisposition to bear hard upon a feeble class (for no such concession was made during the whole of the discussion in any case affecting a powerful interest), the result has very commonly been that the change eventually made has been practically a nullity.

For instance, in the first print of the Resolutions of 1842, it was proposed to reduce the duty on starch from the prohibitory rate of 9*l.* 10*s.* per cwt. to 5*s.* per cwt., about 20 per cent. on the value of the foreign article in bond. However it was subsequently agreed to substitute 10*s.* for 5*s.*; and even a greater change than this was urged by members of Parliament inclined to free trade, on the ground of the enhancement of the cost of wheat (from which starch was usually made) in this country through the operation of the corn law. The duty of 10*s.* was represented by manufacturers of starch as a totally insufficient protection. Now mark the result.

In the first twelve months of the new law we find an experimental importation took place to the extent of 498 cwts. But in the second year it sank to 20 cwts., or a value of about 25*l.*

The case of straw platting, again, is a remarkable one. In order, however, to estimate it justly, we must combine with it the entries of the hats or bonnets made of straw plat. These latter were charged by the dozen under the former law; but I convert these into weight at 3¾ lbs. per dozen :—

| | 1838. | 1839.* | 1840. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Weight of straw-plat entered . . | 34,662 lbs. | 22,340 lbs. | 13,034 lbs. |
| ,, straw hats or bonnets . | 1,171 lbs. | 1,241 lbs. | 2,307 lbs. |
| | 35,793 lbs. | 23,531 lbs. | 15,341 lbs. |

Thus the trade was falling off. The duty was very high—17*s.* per lb., or about 80 per cent. on the plat, and from 50 to 60 on the manufactured article: an anomalous relation between the duties on the material and on the article made up, which was very far from uncommon under the former law. It was proposed to reduce the duty on the plat to 5*s.* Numerous remonstrances were made; and the Government so far receded as to fix it at 7*s.* 6*d.*; and that on hats or bonnets of straw was settled at 8*s.* 6*d.* per lb., instead of a rate equal probably to about 18*s.* 6*d.* per lb. In the face of these great reductions, the importations actually declined upon the change; and in the second year they scarcely recovered the low scale of 1840, and did not reach a moiety of that of 1838, as will appear from the following figures :—

| | 1842-3. | 1843-4. |
|---|---|---|
| Weight of straw plat entered . . . . | 8,322 lbs. | 12,070 lbs. |
| ,, of straw hats or bonnets . . . . | 4,081 lbs. | 3,546 lbs. |
| Total . . . . | 12,403 lbs. | 15,616 lbs. |

Without specifying other instances, I pass to another numerous class of cases—those, namely, in which speculation was set to work by the change of the duty, and importation of the commodity immediately took a spring; but in which a material decrease in the second year, as compared with the first, shows that the expecta-

* See Tables of Revenue, Trade, &c., Part x., 1840.

tions which had been raised had also been in various degrees disappointed. Thus, for example, we find the following entriies :—

1. Among manufactured goods—

| | First Year. | Second Year. |
|---|---|---|
| Gloves | 1,919,000 pairs | 1,795,000 pairs |
| Damasks and damask diaper | 33,000 yards | 21,000 yards |
| Plain linens | 7,500*l.* at value | 6,500*l.* at value |
| Spirit of turpentine | 7,722 cwts. | 35 cwts. |
| Embroidery | 25,000*l.* at value | 7,500*l.* at value |
| Manufactures of skin or fur | 3,700*l.* „ | 1,800*l.* „ |
| Hard soap | 710 cwts. | 536 cwts. |
| Dutch bricks | 233,000 number | 202,000 number |
| Plain china | 1,353*l.* value | 980*l.* value |

2. Among articles of food—

| | First Year. | Second Year. |
|---|---|---|
| Beef, salted (foreign) | 3,462 cwts. | 989 cwts. |
| Pork, salted (foreign) | 7,677 „ | 1,096 „ |
| Salmon | 764 „ | 108 „ |
| Bacon (foreign) | 206 „ | 28 „ |
| Hams (foreign) | 6,188 „ | 2,716 „ |

Most of these were articles, with regard to which the very greatest apprehensions had been expressed. It is within my own recollection, that in the month of August, 1842, the people of a rural district of Scotland, thirty or forty miles from any focus of foreign trade, were much excited on the subject of some salt meat which had been exposed for sale at 3*d.* per lb., in consequence, as was professed, of the new tariff: the fact being that the change in duty on that article amounted only to the small sum of 4*s.* per cwt., and that this change did not take place until the 10th of October, two or three months after its miraculous results had been palmed upon the public. Nor was it an uncommon thing in the streets of London to see advertisements of goods purporting to be cheapened by the new tariff, with regard to which no change either was made or had ever been proposed.

But the most remarkable example of this recession after a first experiment was in the case which of all others excited the greatest alarm and apprehension—namely, the importation of live animals for food. Arguing in Parliament against the exaggerated appre-

hensions which were entertained with respect to the effects of that measure, I protested against an estimate, that had met my eye, according to which it was shown, that in the course of a few years there might be 300,000,000 pigs disposable for importation into England from a single country: but I, somewhat weakly, admitted the possibility that within a short time we might have from abroad as a maximum of addition to our supplies, 50,000 head of cattle annually. The importations of the first six months were—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cattle . . . . . | 4,076 |
| Swine and hogs . . . . . | 410* |

But the parties engaged in them apparently (as it is termed) burnt their fingers: for in the whole year 1843 there were only imported—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cattle . . . . . | 1,482 |
| Swine and hogs . . . . . | 361 |

There is, indeed, a revival in 1844, sufficient to save the results of the measure from becoming ridiculous. In that year we obtained from the whole world—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cattle . . . . . | 4,865 |
| But of swine and hogs only . . . . | 271 |

An argument, however, has been frequently advanced to the effect, that the foreign prices have acted powerfully in reducing British prices to their own level, although when they had reached that level no extended opening could remain for importation. My answer is two-fold: first, it is impossible that foreign prices could have exercised a depressing influence upon the immense market of England to any considerable extent—say, for instance, 1*d.* per lb.—without having held out such opportunities of profit by actual importations from abroad as must have led to very much more extensive operations than those which have actually taken place; secondly, there are two modes in which price may be lowered—either by addition to supply, or by subtraction from demand. An addition of 3000 head to supply will have no greater effect upon prices than a diminution of 3000 head in the demand. The new tariff is responsible for the addition of 3000

* Paper No. 43, Session 1845.

head to the supply; but commercial distress—affecting immediately, perhaps, four or five millions of the people, nearly all of whom were consumers of animal food—is responsible for contracting the demand to an amount nearer 300,000 head than 3000. If fall of price took place, it appears to me more rational to ascribe it to the latter cause than to the former one.

The result seems to be that there is no likelihood, for some considerable time at least, of our obtaining a supply of cattle from abroad at all sufficient to meet the steady increase of our population. Nor is this, in my view, an unsatisfactory result. On the contrary, what has taken place is highly cheering, for this reason, at least, that it shows this most important branch of agricultural industry in our own country to be pursued with an economy and skill which need not shrink from competition, and which, indeed, has now defied it; and it may teach us not to regard, so much as we are apt to do, the low nominal prices which commodities may bear in some other countries, while, notwithstanding, it may be, and is often true, that, when quality is considered, the Englishman gets the cheapest article.

I must quote, however, as a last class of illustrations, one or two cases of manufactured commodities, for the very striking manner in which they contrast the anticipations of persons bewildered by their fears with the actual results of changes in duties upon imports.

Amidst predictions of ruin, the duty on the candles termed stearine (a refined tallow) was reduced from 63*s.* 4*d.* to 23*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. The quantities entered were no more than 1000 lbs. (of the value of perhaps 50*l.*) in the first year, and 2000 (or 100*l.* in value) for the second.

The duty on beaver-hats was lowered from 10*s.* 6*d.* each to 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Foreign hats had been introduced in 1840 to the number of 240. In the first year of the new Act they were but 135, and in the second 191.

The duty on cordage and on cable-yarn was reduced from 10*s.* 9*d.* per cwt. to 6*s.* per cwt. The first proposal was only 5*s.* This duty touched upon a very important trade, and a great mass of hand labour. We are importers of 700,000 cwts. of

hemp annually, of the value of about a million sterling. There was submitted to the Government the most complete invulnerable paper-demonstration, that our trade in cordage must pass bodily into the hands of Russia. Export duties, low wages, employment in the long Russian winters for hands otherwise idle, and therefore costing next to nothing, saving in freight and insurance—all these arguments and many more were duly marshalled. It was shown by a price current from St. Petersburgh that the change meditated in England had excited attention in that market. Moreover, all this was not only urged by traders of intelligence and character, but they were led on by one of the most distinguished among the many distinguished men of business in the city of London, thoroughly acquainted with the trade from former connexion, but then, I believe, retaining little or no interest in it. The prophecies of such men made, I confess, a deep impression on my mind, which has become deeper still since I have witnessed their issue.

However, the stroke descended; and the importations of cordage and cable-yarn, taken together, which had reached 451 cwts. in 1838, and 294 cwts. in 1840, rose to 333 cwts. in 1842-3, and to 1032 cwts. in 1843-4; the trade in the manufactured article thus appearing to be in extent about one six-hundredth part of that in the raw material.

The case of corks, on some accounts, was still more remarkable, because it was one of those commonly quoted at the time by such persons as chose to cast upon the Government the imputation that, while they dealt gently with great interests, they dealt most severely with small ones; and I am bound to add, because, as I believe, the journeymen employed in this trade were, in some instances, actually dismissed from work in anticipation of the change. They therefore, no doubt, had good reason to believe the predictions that were freely delivered on all hands of the total and certain loss of our trade in cork-cutting; and, I must admit, it was distressing to receive from persons in such a class remonstrances so piteous, delivered in a manner the most candid, simple, and sincere.

Their case attracted an uncommon degree of attention, and

perhaps not less than ten or twelve deputations attended various members of the Government upon it, to say nothing of a voluminous correspondence, while a most lively interest in their favour was excited in the House of Commons.

But I think it is manifest that these parties, and those who supported them in Parliament, were deceivers, as being themselves deceived. I arrive at this conclusion from the figures before me. The change was postponed until July, 1843, so that there was plenty of time to prepare large importations of the manufactured article. The old duties were, on the wood, 8*l.* per ton, and on corks 7*s.* per lb. The uniform declaration of the parties in the trade was, that no duty less than 4*s.* per lb. would protect them. The rates were reduced to 1*s.* per ton on the wood, and 8*d.* per lb. on corks. The importations of the first year, under the altered system, were as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Corks, 81,683 lbs. = . . . | 36½ tons. |
| Cork-wood . . . . . | 4,271 ,, |

Or the import of the manufactured article from abroad was about the one-hundred-and-eighteenth part of the import of the material to be manufactured in this country. But there is much refuse in cork-wood. If, then, we allow each ton of corks to represent in value two tons of cork-wood, still the proportion remains one to fifty-nine. If, further, we ought to allow for the excess in the delivery of cork-wood for the period in question, because of the reduction of the duty charged on it, then we find the average delivery of two years—from July, 1842, to July, 1844—to be only 2973 tons,* instead of 4271 tons; and the proportion of the trade in the manufactured article becomes one in forty-one, or somewhat less than 2½ per cent. of the whole. This is a change, no doubt; but if it be a violent and cruel one, then it is difficult to conceive what change is not violent and cruel; and it remains a memorable example of the difference, in such matters, between anticipation and experience.

I must add, however, that I had long ago been informed that the trade was in a small number of hands, and was conducted

* The mean delivery of 1838 and 1840 was 2933 tons.

with something of the manner of monopoly, and that English corks were very inferior to those of French manufacture. I learn, upon recent inquiry, that the price of wine-corks has been reduced from 8*s.* to less than 6*s.* 6*d.* per lb. by the change; but the bulk of the trade, it is manifest, has been retained in British hands.

I shall draw a concluding illustration from the occurrences of last year. The same words, I might almost say the same formulæ, of sinister prognostication were then used, *mutatis mutandis,* by the manufacturers of vinegar, including persons of the very highest respectability, which had been employed in 1842 by many scores of other classes. I ventured to refer, at a conference, to the falsification of the previous omens in so many instances. I was answered by a distinguished member of Parliament (friendly to the abolition of the Corn Law), who accompanied the deputation, that it would be no consolation to the vinegar manufacturer when he should find his apprehensions realised, to know that other trades had discovered theirs to be baseless. It afforded, however, some presumption that his demonstrations and his prophecies might prove to be of the same family as theirs, and to be destined to the same limbo.

The trade declared a duty of 1*s.* per gallon on foreign vinegar to be necessary in order to enable them to subsist. It was reduced (from 1*s.* 6*d.*) to 4*d.* I subjoin the result:—

Quantities of Foreign Vinegar entered for Home Consumption.

| | |
|---|---|
| In the year 1841 . . . | 22,205 gallons. |
| In 1842 . . . . . | 18,139 „ |
| In 1843 . . . . . | 14,144 „ |
| In 1844 (new duty from June 6) . | 49,574 „ |

Now, the quantity of British vinegar charged with excise duty appears to have been about 3,000,000 gallons,—so that the foreigner has at most obtained (up to the present time) but one-sixtieth part of the trade, and fifty-nine parts remain with the British manufacturer.

That in some few instances, among alterations so numerous, the British producer may have been subjected to inconvenient pressure, I can readily believe: that increased importation has

produced benefit to the public almost follows, as a general rule, from the fact that it has taken place. That the degree of increase has ordinarily been so limited appears to me, on the whole, to be a fact full of instruction; and gives rise not only to the supposition that foreign competition has often stimulated improvements which have enabled the British producer to repel or to endure it, but also to the inference I have already named,—which, if true, is very important,—namely, that British industry —even when it is not supported by superior machinery, by the application of capital on a large scale, or by great physical advantages—is able to meet the industry of foreign countries upon a footing of less inequality than we have been apt to suppose.

It would be well, also, if all parties, who conceive themselves to be threatened by impending changes, would recollect that there are usually some classes who have a strong interest in exaggerating their force, and that such interest may either afford a temptation to dishonesty, or very powerfully warp the judgment. It was, for instance, a tempting opportunity in 1842 to assure the farmer that foreign cattle would come over like locusts, and thereby to induce him to sell his own better bred and fed beasts for much less than they were worth. Much mischief of this kind, I do not doubt, has been done; but for such mischief the legislature is hardly to be held responsible.

I have now completed my endeavour to show—however inadequately, yet in a connected form—the proportion of our revenue and of our commerce which have been affected by legislation, comprised within a period of three years, and the results of that legislation upon both; and I cannot scruple to avow that they seem to me to vindicate the policy of a gradual and circumspect relaxation of restrictions, as being the best means of enabling the skill and labour of England to find their full value in the market of the world.

It has been my endeavour rather to state facts, and the inferences immediately connected with them, than to trace the relation subsisting between these and the general principles of trade, and of legislation in respect to trade. Yet I feel strongly that the results obtained up to the present time, although necessarily as

yet incomplete, are in a high degree favourable to the commercial policy applied on a large scale by the legislature in the year 1842, and again upon different occasions during each of the years that have since elapsed. I have yet greater satisfaction in the belief that these results tend not less, but even more powerfully, to uphold the propostion that the foundations of the commercial power of this country are up to this moment, at least in a commercial sense, unimpaired; and that the industry and skill, which are its central support, together with the physical advantages and those of great capital and long established connection which are its accessories, will receive no vital wound from the restrictive measures which have found or may find acceptance elsewhere.

But while it seems to me just that the principles favourable to the circumspect and guarded relaxation of restraints upon trade should not be defrauded of any credit which an actual, though partial, experience may show to be their due, I am bound to add that I for one draw no inferences from what I am about to state in favour of their precipitate and sweeping application, or of practising, by an incessant repetition of experiments in legislation, upon those employments by which our fellow-countrymen gain their bread. I am a deliberate adherent of that policy which is described in contemptuous terms as halting between two opinions: between the opinion which regards commercial restriction as being permanently and essentially a good, and the opinion which deals with it as an evil necessarily greater than that of a sharp and violent transition to freedom; as the source of all our economical difficulties; and even as a violation of the laws of God. Nor is it a fearful and languid mean, a mere neutrality, of which the observance is here implied: it is only that reasonable circumspection, that regard to the lessons of the past, in their detail, as guides for the future—that just comparison of conflicting considerations and care to elicit their compound result, which in almost every branch of legislation constitute the universally acknowledged rule of statesmen, and which have alike marked the genius of the institutions of this country as a whole, and the character of its people.

For the desire to realise, under these conditions, a just

liberty of trade, I can deem no apology requisite from any adherent of a party which follows in the main Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt as its guides among the luminaries of a former generation, and which has reckoned Mr. Canning, Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Huskisson among its members, within the memory and the experience of our living statesmen. The disposition, by which that desire is balanced, is a disposition to respect the subsisting distribution of capital and labour, to preserve it from all violent and sudden shocks, and from the worrying agitation of incessant change, to maintain a confidence, not in the absolute immobility of law, but in the determination of the legislature to deal temperately and dispassionately by all, to adopt no change except for some good and positive reason, and to confine it when adopted within the limits which such reason prescribes. For this disposition I find an ample defence, alike in the writings of economists, in the acts of commercial statesmen, and in the analogies which all legislation, and especially which all British legislation, supplies.

There are indeed some who would, as it were, revenge upon commerce itself the wrong done to higher pursuits and ends by the money-worshipping spirit of the age. I do not doubt that wealth is the heaviest curse to those who idolize either it or the pleasures which it purchases; and that the pursuit of wealth is often one of the subtlest snares by which the path of the human being is beset. But in this view, wealth, and commerce as the means of wealth, are like knowledge, or talent, or health, or any other earthly endowment. Yet each of them has its place in the natural—that is, in the Providential—order of the world. Let us not exalt them above their own region, but neither let us deny their prerogatives within it. The diversity of the productions of different regions is the primeval law which sanctions their exchange:—

> 'Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
> India mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi?'—*Virg. Georg.* I. 66.

Still there is an alteration in the policy of the present year, as compared with that of 1842, so important as to demand specific notice: I mean the total abolition of duties, of great duties like

those on cotton and glass, as well as small ones, like the multitudes of petty imposts that are now on the point of being swept from our tariff, instead of a reduction which might aim simultaneously at relieving trade and at giving scope, through increased consumption, for the final recovery of the revenue surrendered.

I am not about to discuss in this place the policy of the abolition of minor duties on materials of industry, but to offer a few remarks upon another very important subject, closely allied to that of our own commercial legislation—I mean the commercial legislation of foreign countries, It is by considerations drawn from this quarter that I should prefer mainly to vindicate the principle of total abolition of duty, as applied to those articles upon which British labour is to be employed.

But in the first place I must endeavour to set aside a notion which has gone abroad, and which has received countenance in quarters where it was little to be expected, that our trade with foreign countries, and especially with the continent of Europe, is of comparatively small, or at any rate of diminishing, importance. I apprehend that the labour of the people of Great Britain, man for man, is the most productive labour in the world. We subject it to a severe test in comparing it with that of the United States. On turning, however, to a recent estimate, drawn from accounts which have the sanction of some public authority, I find the total annual product of the industry of that country,* in the various branches of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, mining, the forest, and the fisheries, calculated at 1063 millions of dollars; equal to about two hundred and fifty millions sterling. The population amounted at the same time to between eighteen and nineteen millions, or was about equal to that of Great Britain in 1841. We have no statistics which would warrant my venturing upon a determinate conjecture of the annual value of the fruits of the labour of this country, but I do not think there can be a doubt that they must be considerably higher—suppose even to the amount of 50 per cent. But if this be so, still the fact remains, that a much larger proportion

* Tucker's 'Progress of the United States,' p. 195. 1843.

of our industry is engaged in trade with foreign countries, than of the industry of America. Her exports are under twenty-five millions sterling, ours are over fifty. Of her labour, they employ one-tenth; of ours, even according to the computation I have hazarded, a seventh. In short, we are more dependent than any other great people upon external trade for the employment of our population.

Nor is it the fact that, as many suppose, this external trade is leaving the channels of our intercourse with Europe in order to fill those of distant, and especially of colonial markets.

In order to make good this proposition, I take the term of the thirteen latest years of which we possess the accounts—namely, from 1831 to 1843;* and I show by the following figures the increase of our export trade,—

1. With the whole world;
2. With the whole world, except Europe;
3. With Europe alone.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. In the year 1831 we exported to all countries of the world goods of the declared value of . | £37,164,372 |
| In the year 1843 . . . . . | 52,279,709 |
| Increase in twelve years . . | 15,115,337 |
| | or 40·6 per cent. |
| 2. In the year 1831 we exported to all countries, except those of Europe, goods amounting to the declared value of . . . . | £23,523,932 |
| In the year 1843 . . . . . | 28,295,750 |
| Increase in twelve years . . | 5,771,818 |
| | or 24·5 per cent. |
| 3. In the year 1831 we exported, to Europe only, goods to the declared value of . . . | £13,640,440 |
| In the year 1843 . . . . . | 23,983,959 |
| Increase in twelve years . . | 10,343,511 |
| | or 75·8 per cent. |

According to this statement our trade with Europe has increased nearly twice as fast as our trade with the whole world,

* From the Decennial Tables for 1831-40; and the subsequent single years as they have appeared.

and three times as fast as our trade with the residue of the world.

But, as single years may fluctuate from irregular causes, let us take periods of three years, in the same order as that already followed:—

1. In the years 1831-3 we exported annually to all countries, on the average, goods to the declared value of . . . . . £37,760,771
   In the years 1841-3 . . . . . 50,431,785
   Increase in ten years . . 12,671,014
   or 33·5 per cent.

2. In the year 1831-3 we exported annually, on the average, to all countries, except those of Europe, goods to the declared value of . £22,815,359
   In the year 1841-3 . . . . . 27,087,423
   Increase in ten years . . 4,272,064
   or 18·7 per cent.

3. In the years 1831-3 we exported annually, on the average, to Europe, goods to the declared value of . . . . . £14,945,411
   In the years 1843 . . . . . 23,344,362
   Increase in ten years . . 8,398,951
   or 56·2 per cent.

According to this mode of computation, the rate of increase in our European trade approaches to double that of our entire external trade; and it exceeds by more than three times the rate of increase in our trade with the other three quarters of the globe.

In European trade are included our European colonies; but of these Gibraltar alone materially influences the result; and the exports to Gibraltar are due to the commercial demand of foreign states. The condition indeed of the trade with the United States, in the years 1842 and 1843, has an unfavourable influence in the comparison: and it is also true that, on the whole, our European trade does not now represent so great an amount of British labour, in proportion to its extent, as it did twenty years or thirty years ago: but neither these nor any other circumstances, so far as I

am aware, can do more than slightly qualify the conclusions which the foregoing figures appear to establish.

The period during which this rapid extension of dealings has been going on, has been distinguished, first, by many relaxations in the commercial code of England, and increased facilities for the importation of foreign commodities; and, secondly, by efforts on the part of almost every European power either to erect or to tighten a restrictive and prohibitory system.

In the earlier portion of the period was constituted the Customs' Union of Northern Germany; a wise and noble scheme, if it be viewed in its internal bearings, for extending the intercourse of a great people, for maintaining its European influence, and enhancing its sentiment of nationality; but, with respect to foreign trade, a measure of jealousy and rigour, not the less but the more grievous because its severe and in many instances crushing enactments were ushered into the world under the most alluring titles of simplicity and uniformity, and with a professed limitation of the maximum or general duty upon imports to 10 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Within the last four years, Russia, Prussia, France, and Spain—in fine, every great country of Europe, except Austria—has given increased stringency to its commercial system. Nor have the minor states in general been backward in following the vicious example. Belgium in particular worries her commerce with a succession of new restraints, now taxing iron, now cottons, now linen yarns, and at last inventing a system of differential duties upon ships, with the avowed intention of taking rank among the maritime powers of Europe! On the other hand, the signs of a disposition to relax have been few, and generally faint. Hanover has indeed stood her ground, and Holland has even reduced her domestic tariff, which was very moderate before the reduction. Sardinia has made considerable diminutions in her customs' duties. Portugal was not unwilling, but sought too high a price, in the surrender of British revenue, for doing herself a benefit. Austria has effected some small relaxations, and, though they are small, she deserves honour for them.

On the other side of the Atlantic, it is enough to refer to the

tariffs of Brazil, adopted in 1844, and of the United States, adopted in 1842: the latter distinguished from those of the whole world in this particular, that while we are constantly assured that its main object is revenue and not protection, it admits free of all duty tea and coffee, and other articles on which revenue could be raised without any other than a fiscal effect, and imposes heavy charges only on such productions as can enter into competition with its domestic interests.

Most of the countries to which I have adverted appear to be possessed by a sentiment that they have found the philosopher's stone in a prohibitory system. They appear to have realized one of the most singular of the impostures of Joseph Smith, the leader of the Mormons, who I think professed to have discovered in the far north a people enormously rich, whose territory had, from time immemorial, been surrounded by walls of brass, that they might have no intercourse with any other nation of the earth. England, it is held, has grown rich by restriction, and now only wishes to grow richer by casting it away. Whether we relax or not, they are alike inexorable. When we maintain the restraints we find in existence, they use our conduct as their apology for inventing new ones. When we remove such restraints, they perceive only a deeper plan for bringing about their ruin by cheap production, which requires of them still more imperiously the multiplication of their repressive and prohibitory enactments.

It is needless to determine, for how much of this unfortunate policy abroad, England, by her own proceedings, at certain periods in particular, has become justly responsible. That would be a necessary inquiry if I were engaged in examining my subject for the purpose of awarding praise or blame; but it is not so. In the first place I believe that the European governments are obeying what seems to grow more and more the law of all governments, and are exhibiting the actual direction of the popular movement, often in opposition to the personal convictions of their members. Doubtless they act on what they believe to be, on the whole, for the good of their respective countries; and I entirely disclaim alike the right and the desire to censure them.

It may be true that England is the main sufferer by their pro-

ceedings. We hear much of the jealousy with which she is regarded; we know that the flame of jealousy readily finds its necessary food, where there is a supposed collision of pecuniary interests; but I for one utterly disbelieve that hostility to England is the root and ground of these measures. I rather view it as an unhappy, and, if I may so speak, a maladroit homage to her, that other nations show so very impetuous a desire to copy her example, and trust more to her traditions than to their own understandings.

I cannot however but believe, on the part of our own legislators of former times, that they looked to the protective system rather as a temporary stimulus to enterprise while yet in its infancy, than as a permanent and essential good—rather as a means of developing real, natural, inherent capabilities, than as an expedient for supplying the want of them. I fear that the temper now prevailing in many countries verges towards this latter, and surely most irrational, most pernicious view.

I have dwelt long on this subject of the commercial policy of foreign states, but it is one of immense moment. The power of capital, skill, industry, long established character, and connexions, sustaining English commerce, bears up against all that has been done. Sometimes the smuggler gives us a commercial remedy, in which no man should rejoice, hand in hand with a moral evil. Sometimes what we lose by new restrictions in a particular country, we gain by the diminished capacity of that country, now become a dearer producer, to compete with us in third markets. Sometimes enhancements of price, equivalent to the increase of duty, leave to the British merchant the means of continuing his business; and the whole weight of the burden is borne by the patient public of the foreign state. Sometimes our trade staggers for a moment under the blow, and then recovers. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the sharp and rapid succession of restrictive measures during recent years, it has grown, and continues to grow, from year to year with a perverse rapidity, as if persecution were not less feeble when applied to commerce, than it is now commonly reputed to be when used against religious opinion.

But if so, it may be naturally asked, why all this anxiety? My answer is, that while I do not believe that we have been losers, relatively to the countries of which I now speak, but hold, on the contrary, that their blows have told most severely on themselves, yet I cannot doubt that the states in question have taken much from us as well as from their own inhabitants, have neutralised or contracted a thousand benefits which it was practicable to have attained, and that their policy demands from us a vigorous and steady counteraction.

But what is to be the form of that counteraction? Are we to weary them, by remonstrances, into undoing their acts? But first, as matters now stand, it is too probable that we should be interpreted by contraries, as Irish pigs are said to understand their drivers; that the earnestness of our request might be deemed the most demonstrative reason against its being granted. Secondly, to do is one thing, rapidly to undo is a very different one. We ourselves have occasion to urge this plea: we must allow it due weight on behalf of others. We cannot and ought not to expect foreign states at once to break down the lofty barriers which they have been so carefully erecting.

Shall we then counteract by retaliation? The public sentiment, I think, among us nowhere leans to such a course. For states having more contracted interests to regard, it is, I believe, in most cases, as unwise as at first sight it is seductive: for us it would be suicidal.

Shall we then pursue the daring course of repudiating at once all our own restraints, all our protective duties, high and low, and our Navigation Act from its first section to its last, in order thereby to prove our heroic sincerity, and to force a sympathy in other lands, which shall bear down every obstacle, and establish the commercial intercourse of men on the footing of universal brotherhood? This is the sentiment of an hardy minority among us; but the project, on account of its disregard of subsisting arrangements and habits, is unwise and unjust: and, what is enough for enabling us to dispense with detailed discussion upon its merits in this place, it is plainly impracticable.

There remains, I think, only one course—it is to use every

effort to disburden of all charges, so far as our law is concerned, the materials of industry, and thus to enable the workman to approach his work at home on better terms, as the terms on which he enters foreign markets are altered for the worse against him. I do not believe that this will be a losing game; but, on the contrary, that if we steadily pursue it, then although the prohibitory policy of foreign states, or, as I should rather say, although the forced concessions of foreign governments to the anti-commercial spirit of particular classes of their subjects, may indeed and will diminish the aggregate trade of the world, they will not diminish the share of it which falls to the lot of England. They may smite, from time to time, some branch of our commerce, and it may fall as a lofty tree falls in the forest. We hear the crash, and we deplore the void; but we forget that a thousand more are lifting their heads and spreading forth their arms with an insensible but constant growth. Even so it is in our commerce with other nations. If a new tax is laid in Germany upon the iron which our bounteous earth yields us in profusion, that tax cripples the power of the country imposing it to compete with us in every one of the hundred branches of trade to which iron is an accessory. If France doubles the duty on our linen yarns, she stimulates us to economy, and bids the smuggler thrive, she taxes her consumer, and fetters that ingenuity and taste on the part of her weavers, which are the main support of her commercial strength.

I do not mean that what is undoubtedly injurious to us is to be viewed with satisfaction because it is yet more injurious to others; but let other nations come to be convinced that such is the tendency of their present policy, and they will spontaneously save us the trouble of expostulation, and will hasten to reverse it, for the just and natural reason which alone would warrant their reversing it—namely, not our interest, but their own. How are they to be brought to that mind? As I think, by seeing that although we may, by one act and another, be crippled in detail, yet our aggregate commerce even with them maintains itself, and even gains further augmentation; that while they obstruct the channel at one end, yet, as we clear it at the other, the waters find their

way in reflux as well as flux: that their purchases from us, in despite of adverse legislation, have increased with their sales to us, and that with a rapidity that none but the most sanguine would have ventured to expect. Let us have a few more years of experimental instruction, such as that which is afforded by the figures of the statement I have given of the relative growth of our trade with Europe and the world: such results cannot fail to exercise a powerful influence on the intelligence and the will of governments, and of the nations whom they rule.

It is this regard to the course of commerce and of commercial legislation in the world at large which convinces me of the wisdom of pushing further than might otherwise be necessary, or even desirable, our efforts to relieve the materials of industry from fiscal burdens, and also of endeavouring to diminish (as is just now being done in the case of sugar) the impositions upon articles of consumption, as the state may be able to afford it, and our own industry and capital, immediately engaged, to bear the operation, I do not say without alarm, but without real and substantial derangement.

I freely grant that the relief of raw materials from taxation is a different policy from that of annihilating protection: some will say a more timid, as I venture to think a more just and a less hazardous course of action. But at least it has been steadily pursued. Before 1842 we levied upon foreign commodities of that class nearly three millions and a half. Of this sum nearly 1,250,000*l.* was surrendered in 1842 and 1844. In the present year there is added another million: and at the same time nearly 800,000*l.* of taxation, analogous in its character, that is of direct charge upon glass and upon coals produced at home, is likewise given up. Only three articles belonging strictly to the class of raw materials will now remain subject to taxation: namely, copper ore, timber, and tallow: and of these the two first have been placed by the law of 1842 upon a footing much more favourable to the consumer than that on which they formerly stood. Such being the case, I think the actual policy of the country, notwithstanding exceptions and apparent anomalies, is as clear and undeniable in fact, as it is sound in reason.

I close this review with two remarks. First, I have taken no particular notice of many important changes in the laws affecting our foreign commerce, which have been adopted during the last few years, such as the universal permission to export machinery, the Corn Substitution Act, the freedom of the trade for provisioning ships, the reduction of duties in the colonial possessions of the Crown, the abolition of the system of naturalisation of goods, and the Canadian Corn Act—the last a measure of which we are not yet, I think, in a condition to form any judgment from experience. All these, however, belong to the same policy in its different aspects: they must stand or fall with it, and I need not prolong these already lengthened remarks by examining them in detail.

Secondly, in exhibiting so many figures, and traversing a ground so extensive, I am aware that even this prolonged statement must be very incomplete; and further, that besides omitting, in some cases, what is material, I may even have advanced what is erroneous. If it be so I hope, and I do not doubt, there will be found persons both able and willing to set me right; but neither in estimating relief to trade, nor surrender of revenue, nor the results of the diminution of protective duties, have I in any instance knowingly given a form or colour to my statement such as would draw from it an undue advantage for my reasoning. I have thought it necessary to state this, because in such matters figures are an instrument of dangerous and tempting power; and in order to use them justly and fairly, there is need not only of a generally honest intention, but of constant care in their application to particulars.

*London, March* 15, 1845.

London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

# ADDRESS

ON THE

# PLACE OF ANCIENT GREECE

IN THE

# PROVIDENTIAL ORDER OF THE WORLD:

DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
ON THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER, 1865.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,
AND FOREIGN ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
EDINBURGH: OLIVER AND BOYD.
1865.

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# ADDRESS,

*&c. &c.*

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Professors, and Gentlemen:

The subject on which I desire to address to you my parting words, is, the place of ancient Greece in the providential order of the world.

Even the pointed announcement of such a subject may seem to partake of paradox. No one, indeed, would think of denying that the people, who inhabited that little cluster of rugged mountains and of narrow vales, played a part, and a great part, upon the stage of history, and left a mark, not deep only, but indelible, upon the character of the human race. No one would deny that they have delivered to us brilliant examples of energy in action, and matchless productions of the mind and hand, models in letters and in art. Nor is there any doubt about the fact, that Christian Europe has during many generations assigned to Greece the largest share in the cultivation of the human mind. But this age, which questions much, questions naturally enough the propriety of the judgment, which has thus awarded her the place of honour in the career of general education. Her language, her history, her literature, and her art, are regarded as the privileged delight and separate entertainment of the few; but there is no

clear perception in the majority of minds, that all these have entered deeply into the common interests of mankind. Lastly, they are distinguished in so broad a manner from the teaching of the Gospel, nay in certain points and instances they are so much in conflict with the spirit of the Evangelical code, that there is a disposition to regard them as belonging exclusively to the secular order, as well as to the secondary, and if I may so speak ornamental, interests of life. To its secondary interests, because Greece does not propose to teach us how to choose a profession, or to make way in the world :—

"τί δέ μ' ὠφελήσουσ' οἱ ῥυθμοὶ πρὸς τἄλφιτα;" *

To the secular order, because it is beyond doubt that we cannot obtain from her the lessons of true religion. Nay, she has sometimes almost assumed the attitude of its rival; for both the period of the revival of learning, and also more modern times, have supplied signal instances, in which her fascinations have well-nigh persuaded men of genius or of letters, Christian-born, to desert their allegiance to their faith, and endeavour to revive for themselves, at least in the region of the fancy, the worship once in use at her long-abandoned shrines.

Other reasons besides these have produced a practical indisposition to regard ancient Greece as having had a distinct, assignable, and most important place in the providential government of the world. Something that may be called religionism, rather

* Aristoph. Νεφ. v. 648.

than religion, has led us for the most part not indeed to deny in terms that God has been and is the God and Father and Governor of the whole human race, as well as of Jews and Christians, yet to think and act as if His providential eye and care had been confined in ancient times to the narrow valley of Jerusalem, and since the Advent to the Christian pale, or even to something which, enforcing some yet narrower limitation at our own arbitrary will, we think fit to call such. But surely He, who cared for the sixscore thousand persons in ancient Nineveh that could not distinguish between their right hand and their left, He without whom not a sparrow falls, He that shapes, in its minutest detail, even the inanimate world, and clothes the lily of the field with its beauty and its grace, He never forgot those sheep of His in the wilderness, but as, on the one hand, He solicited them, and bore witness to them of Himself, by never-ceasing bounty and by the law written in their hearts, so on the other hand in unseen modes He used them, as He is always using us, for either the willing, or if not the willing, then the unconscious or unwilling, furtherance and accomplishment of His designs. The real paradox then would be not to assert, but to deny or even to overlook, the part which may have been assigned to any race, and especially to a race of such unrivalled gifts, in that great and all-embracing plan for the rearing and training of the human children of our Father in heaven, which we call the Providential Government of the world.

Such preparation, ascertained and established upon the solid ground of fact, may be termed prophecy in action; and is, if possible, yet stronger for the confirmation of belief, and yet more sublime in aspect as an illustration of Almighty greatness, than prophecy in word.

But in this Providential government there are diversities of operations. In this great house * there are vessels of gold and silver, vessels of wood and earth. In the sphere of common experience we see some human beings live and die, and furnish by their life no special lessons visible to man, but only that general teaching, in elementary and simple forms, which is derivable from every particle of human experience. Others there have been who, from the time when their young lives first, as it were, peeped over the horizon, seemed at once to

"Flame in the forehead of the morning sky;" †

whose lengthening years have been but one growing splendour, and at the last who

"leave a lofty name,
A light, a landmark, on the cliffs of fame." ‡

Now, it is not in the general, the ordinary, the elementary way, but it is in a high and special sense, that I claim for ancient Greece a marked, appropriated, distinctive place in the Providential order of the world. And I will set about explaining what I mean.

I presume that all philosophy, claiming to be

* 2 Tim. ii. 20. † Lycidas. ‡ Moore.

Christian, regards the history of our race, from its earliest records down to the Incarnation and Advent of our Lord, as a preparation for that transcendent event, on which were to be hung thereafter the destinies of our race.

Let us, however, examine more particularly that opinion which has prevailed in the world, sometimes sustained by argument, oftener by sufferance, sometimes lurking underground, and sometimes emboldened to assert itself in the face of day, that although the Divine care extends in a general way to all men, yet we are to look for this preparation, at least for the positive parts of it, nowhere except in the pages of the Old Testament, and in the history and traditions of the Patriarchs and the Jews. This opinion has what some of our fathers would have termed "a face of piety:" it has undoubtedly been held by pious persons, and urged in what are termed the interests of religion. But that face I am persuaded is a face only, a mask which ought to be stripped off, as it hides the reality from our view.

According to this theory, we are to consider the line of the patriarchs and the descendants of Abraham as exclusively the objects of any Divine dispensation which, operating in the times before the Advent, is to be reckoned as part of the preparation for the great event. To them we are to look as the guardians of all human excellence in all its infinite varieties; and when we seem to find it elsewhere, we are either to treat the phenomenon as spurious, or else, believing without sight, we are to consider it as

derived, through some hidden channel, from the stores communicated by Divine revelation to the favoured race. This theory found perhaps its fullest, nay even its most properly fanatical, development in the 'Paradise Regained' of Milton. There the works of the Greek intellect and imagination are depreciated in a strain of the utmost extravagance; and, what is worse, the extravagance is made to proceed from those Divine lips, all whose words were weighed and measured in the exactest balances and lines of truth. First, the proposition is advanced by the poet that divine inspiration precludes the need of any other knowledge, even "though granted true:" "but these," so proceeds the speech—

> "But these are false, or little else but dreams,
> Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm."

The Greek philosophers are dismissed, as a body, with wholesale condemnation: while Homer and the tragedians are stated, with a gravity in itself wonderful enough, to have learned the art of poetry from the Jews:—

> "All our law and story strewed
> With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscribed,
> Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
> That pleased so well our victors' ear, declare
> That rather Greece from us these arts derived."

The orators are set to compete with the Hebrew prophets:—

> "Herein to our prophets far beneath
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government." *

A competition this, which would probably have

* 'Paradise Regained,' Book iv. 291, 334, 356.

caused the greatest astonishment to those to whom the prize in it is awarded.

It is difficult to understand how Milton's genius could have prompted him thus to pit against one another things really, in the main, incommensurable; or how his learning, which must have made him acquainted with the Greek philosophy, could have failed to impress him with the belief that men like Aristotle and Plato were earnest seekers after truth.

Warburton observes upon these passages, that they were in accordance with the fashion of the time. And it appears that, especially in the later years of Milton's life, there were a number of learned men, English and foreign, such as Bochart, Huet, Voss, Gale, and Bogan, who busied themselves in showing correspondences between the Hebrew and the Pagan traditions, and who in some instances, particularly that of Huet, Bishop of Avranches, pushed their undertaking into undue and fanciful detail. But I have not found that they propounded any doctrine in reference to the derivation of heathen literature from Jewish sources, either to the sweeping extent, or in the cynical spirit, of the 'Paradise Regained.' Their object appears to have been a different one, namely, to fortify the historical credit of the sacred records by tracing elsewhere matter essentially corresponding with their contents; either as clothed in contemporary disguises, or as flowing from a common fountain-head.

In truth, the seed-plot of this peculiar learning belongs to a much earlier and a more interesting

and important literature. Paganism, which had been for the two greatest races of the ancient world in their infancy a creed, and in their riper age a profession, did not, when assailed by the victorious advance of Christianity, retire from the intellectual battle-field without a desperate struggle, carried on in its behalf with all the resources of powerful and subtle intellects. As a revelation of the designs of God for the recovery and moral renovation of mankind, the Gospel was not unfairly required to give an account, not only of itself, but of everything else in the world that preceded or opposed it. The Pagan system, if it had nothing else, had at least one important advantage in the controversy. It represented a continuous unbroken tradition, dating from beyond the memory of man: it had come down from father to son through more than a hundred generations with an ostensible sameness and a very widely-extended sway; and none could name the day when, in the two far-famed peninsulas that had given the breath of life to the ancient world, it did not exist and prevail.

Under these circumstances, it was most difficult for the Christian apologists to admit that there lay in the old religions of the world, and particularly in the Greek or the Latin mythology, any nucleus or germ of the primeval truth. For the logical consequence of such an admission might have seemed to be that they should not sweep the old religion off the face of the earth, but endeavour to reduce it to some imagined standard of its purer infancy: that they should not

destroy it, but reform it: whereas, on the contrary, their purpose was, and could not but be, not to reform but to destroy. They met, then, the traditional claims of Paganism by taking their stand upon the purer, clearer, and still older tradition of the Hebrews. They parried the negative value in argument of an undefined antiquity with the positive record of the creation of the world, and with the sublime exordium of the human race, propagated in a definite line from man to man, down to the firm ground of historic times. So far so good. But still they were obstinately confronted by a system conterminous both in space and in duration with the civilised world, and able, too, to say of itself, with some apparent truth, that when civilisation and culture themselves began they did not make or bring it, but found it on the ground before them. Thus upon the merely historic field the battle might have looked, to the ordinary spectator, like a drawn one; while it seemed needful for the dignity and high origin of the new religion to conquer not at one point but at all. Hence perhaps the tendency of the Christian apologists, in unconscious obedience to the exigencies of controversy, after they had proved by reasoning the truth and authority of the Gospel, and had smitten their enemy, as they did smite him, to the dust, by their moral arguments against Paganism, to accelerate its end, and to demolish the very last of its seeming titles, its antiquity of origin, by refusing to affiliate any part or parcel of it, at any point of time, to the stock of a primeval religion, and by contending that so

much of truth as was scattered through the rolls of its literature had been filtered in detail through successive media, from Greece to Rome, from Egypt to Greece, but was ultimately to be traced in every case to the ancient people of God, and to the records and traditions which had had an historical existence among them.

I turn now to the remarkable work of Eusebius, commonly called the 'Præparatio Evangelica.' In that work he sets forth the moral impurity, imbecility, impiety, and falseness of the Pagan system. He contrasts with it the marvellous prerogatives of the older Scriptures. In what lies beyond this province, he is not so injudicious as to depreciate the intellectual development of the Hellenic race, alike original and vast. But, he says they learned, in its elementary form, the "superstitious error" of their religion, which by their own genius they afterwards recast and adorned,* from Egyptian, Phœnician, and other foreign sources: but their glimpses of the Godhead, and whatever they had of instruction for the soul's health, they obtained, by importation mediate or immediate, from the Hebrews only, except in as far as it was supplied them by the light of nature.†

The question here arises, if the Hellenic race got their religion from Phœnicia and Egypt, from whence did Egypt and Phœnicia obtain it? And here it is that we come upon the chief error into which Eusebius

* Note I. † Note II.

was led by the controversial exigencies of his position. He treats the religions of the world as having been purely and wholly, even in their first beginnings, errors and inventions of the human mind, without any trace or manner of relationship to that Divine truth which, as he truly tells us, had been imparted to the Hebrews long before the days of Moses and the composition of the Pentateuch. According to him, the old religions were made up of worships offered to the heavenly bodies, to the powers of nature, to the spirits of departed men, to useful or important arts and inventions, and to the demonic race in its two families of the good and the evil.

He admits, in every part of his work, that he appears in the arena to maintain and justify the Christians as the authors of a schism in the religious world; and this admission it is, which, by the nature of his propositions and his argument, he converts into a boast.

The view taken by Eusebius was I apprehend that generally taken by the Christian apologists. Saint Clement of Alexandria* not only denies the originality of the Greeks in what they possessed of truth, but treats as a theft their appropriation of Hebrew ideas:† and fancifully, I might say whimsically, supports the charge by instances of plagiarism perpetrated by one Greek author on another. Justin Martyr‡ allows no higher parentage to the Greek mythology than the poets, who were bad enough, or,

* Strom. B. vi. p. 618, ed. Col. 1688. † Note III.
‡ Cohortatio ad Græcos, 43, 51, 52.

still worse as he says, the philosophers. Lactantius* ascribes to fallen angels, or dæmons, the invention of image-worship. Theophilus† affirms that the gods of the heathen were dead men: Lactantius,‡ that they were *reges maximi et potentissimi*. But time does not permit and the argument does not require me to pursue this part of the subject into greater detail.§ Suffice it to say that the early Christian writers, not the narrow-minded men that many take them for, did not deny or disparage the intellectual prodigies of the great heathen races, of those marvellous philosophers as Eusebius often calls them, that Plato so eminently commended by his intellectual debtor the great Saint Augustine:‖ nor did they make light of the voice of nature in the soul of man, nor of the Divine Government over the whole world at every period of its existence, nor of the truths to be found in ancient writers. But the defiled and putrescent system of religion which they found confronting them, formidable as it was from antiquity, wide extension, general consent, from the strength of habit, and from the tenacious grasp of powerful interests upon temporal possessions and advantages, this evil system they hunted down in argument without mercy, and did not admit to be an historical and traditional derivation from a primeval truth, which the common ancestry of the Semitic and the European races had once in common enjoyed.

* Div. Inst. ii. 16.
† Ad Autol. i. p. 75, A.
‡ Div. Inst. i. 8.
§ Note IV.
‖ De Civ. Dei, viii. 4, and Contra Acad. iii. 37.

It can hardly be said that there was intentional unfairness in this proceeding. The Christian writers laboured under the same defect of critical knowledge and practice with their adversaries. They took the lives, deeds, and genealogies of the heathen deities, just as they found them in the popular creed, for the starting-points of their argument. Their immediate business was to confute a false religion, and to sweep from the face of the world a crying and incurable moral evil: not to construct an universal philosophy of the religious history of man; for which the time had not then, and perhaps has not yet, arrived. But we have new sources of knowledge, new means of detecting error and guiding inquiry, new points of view open to us: and the more freely and faithfully we use them the more we shall find cause to own, with reverence and thankfulness, the depth, and height, and breadth of the wisdom and goodness of God.

Meantime, it is easy to perceive the polemical advantage which was obtained by this unsparing manner of attack. He brought the case straight to issue, not between differently shaded images of a Deity confessedly the same, with their respective champions ready to uphold their several claims amidst the din of contending preferences and of interminable dispute, but, taking his stand on the threshold of the argument, and like a soldier in fight disencumbering himself of all detail, between the God of the Hebrews on the one side, worshipped from the beginning of mankind, and pretended gods on the other, which could render no distinct account of their origin, and were in truth

no gods at all. And, to estimate the greatness of this advantage, we must take into view the nature of the adverse arguments. The Pagan champions did not too much embarrass themselves by defending the popular forms and fables of the old religion. Perhaps, to the credulous villager, the religion of Porphyry might have been as unintelligible or as odious as that of St. Paul. All these incumbrances were at once disposed of by being treated on the Pagan side as allegorical, figurative, secondary manifestations of the true Deity, or even as having been in many cases due to the intrusive and mischievous activity of the spirits of evil. The Pagan champion, then, was himself contending, not for the forms, but for the one great unseen Deity, which, driven to his shifts, he affirmed to lie hid within the forms. To admit, under circumstances like these, that any principle of inward life, under whatever incrustations, was latent in the mythology as it lay before their eyes, would have been to betray the truth. And any seeming approach to that admission, such as allowing that that foul and loathsome corpse had once been alive in youthful health and beauty, might have sorely hindered and perplexed the Christian argument on its way to the general mind.

As respects the religious ideas of the Greeks, properly so called, and their philosophic tenets, the scholars of the seventeenth century seem to have occupied much the same ground with Eusebius and the early Christian writers. But as respected their mythological personages, not having the Pagans to

argue with, they had no prejudices against finding for them a lineage in Scripture. I am not competent to determine how far in the prosecution of their task they went into excess. But those who admit the truth of the Sacred Records, must surely decline to say that they were wrong in principle. We are not called upon to believe that Neptune was Japhet, or that Iphigenia was Jepththa's daughter; or that Deucalion was Noah, or that Bellerophon was really Joseph in the house of Potiphar, notwithstanding certain resemblances of circumstances by which these and some other such cases are marked. But if we believe in the substantial soundness of the text of Scripture and in the substantial truth of its history, we must then also believe that the Hamitic and Japhetic races, as they in their successive branches set out upon their long migrations, brought with them, from the early home which they had shared with the sons of Shem, the common religious traditions. They could not but go, as Æneas is fabled to have gone from Troy—

"Cum patribus populoque, Penatibus, ac magnis Dis."*

But if there be those who would strangely forbid us to appeal to what may be called, by the most modest of its august titles, the oldest and most venerable document of human history, the argument still remains much the same. The progress of ethnological and philological research still supplies us with accumulating evidence of the chain of migrations, north and westwards, of the Turanian, and especially of the Aryan races, from points necessarily undefined but in close

* Æn. viii. 679.

proximity with the seats of the patriarchal nomads; and has not supplied us with any evidence, or with any presumption whatever, that their known traditions sprang from any fountainhead other than that which is described in the Book of Genesis as the three-branching family of Noah. If, then, upon this ground, there is, to say the least, nothing to exclude or to disparage, but so much to support, the doctrine of the original intercommunion of these races with the Semitic tribes, which could not but include religion, the question recurs in all its force, how was it even possible that they could leave behind them their religious traditions upon the occasion of their first local separation from their parent stock? They did not surely, like the souls in transmigration,* drink of the river of forgetfulness, and raze out from the tablets of the brain, as a preparation for their journey, all they had ever known, or heard, or felt. The obscuration and degeneracy of religious systems is commonly indeed a rapid, but is necessarily a gradual process. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus;* and no tribe or nation passes either from light to darkness, or from the possession of a religious belief to the loss of it, at a moment's notice.

It was therefore antecedently probable that, in examining the actual religious systems of later times, and of countries at a distance from the earliest known seat of mankind, but connected with it by the great current of human migration, we should find remaining tokens of affinity to any religious system, which upon

* Plat. de Rep. B. x.

competent evidence we might believe to have prevailed among the races most closely and directly connected with that seat. And this antecedent probability is sustained by a mass of evidence running through the whole web of the Hellenic mythology, obscure indeed in its latest and most darkened ages, but continually gaining in force and clearness as we ascend the stream of time, and so strong in itself as to be, I am firmly persuaded, incapable of argumentative confutation.

To collect and present this mass of evidence, with a careful and strict appreciation of the respective value of its parts, is a work not to be attempted within the limits, however extended by your indulgence, of what is termed an Address. But I will now endeavour to bring to a head what has been stated, and to apply it to the purpose which I announced at the commencement.

I submit then to you, that the true *Præparatio Evangelica,* or the rearing and training of mankind for the Gospel, was not confined to that eminent and conspicuous part of it, which is represented by the dispensations given to the Patriarchs and the Jews, but extends likewise to other fields of human history and experience; among which, in modes, and in degrees, varyingly perceptible to us, the Almighty distributed the operations preliminary and introductory to His one great, surpassing, and central design for the recovery and happiness of mankind. So that, in their several spheres, some positive, some negative, some spiritual, some secular, with a partial consciousness, or with an absolute unconsciousness, all were

co-operators in working out His will; under a guidance strong, and subtle, and the more sublime, perhaps, in proportion as it was the less sensible.

In the body of those traditions of primitive religion which are handed down to us in the Book of Genesis, and which I shall make no further apology for treating as records of great historic weight, there was manifestly included what I may term an humanistic element. It was embodied in the few but pregnant words which declared that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.* The principle of evil was to receive a deadly shock in its vital part, and this at the hands of One who should be born into the very race that He would come to deliver.

The next observation I would submit is this: that there was no provision made, so far as we are aware, at any rate in the Mosaic system, for keeping alive this particular element of the original traditions, otherwise than as an anticipation reaching into the far distant future. On the contrary, every precaution was apparently taken to prevent any human being, or any human form, from becoming the object of a religious reverence. To this aim the abstraction of the body of Moses† from the view of the people seems to be most naturally referred: and the stringent prohibitions of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue appear to have been especially pointed against the execution by human hands of the figure of a man. For we hear in Holy Writ of the serpent‡

* Gen. iii. 15. † Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.
‡ Num. xxi. 8, 9; John iii. 14.

made by Moses and exhibited to the nation : and the brazen sea of the Temple * rested upon twelve brazen oxen. There were cherubim in the Ark framed by Moses ;† and "cherubim of image-work" were made by Solomon for the Temple :‡ but they were not, it is commonly believed, in human figure : and the four living creatures of the vision of Ezekiel had each the mixed character of man, lion, ox, and eagle.§

And it would appear, that these measures were effectual. Ready as were the Jews to worship the serpent or the golden calf, their idolatry never was anthropomorphic. The majesty of the Deity was thus kept, in the belief of the Hebrew race, effectually apart from that one form of lowering association, which, as we see from the experience of Paganism, was by far the subtlest, the most attractive, and the most enchaining. A pure Theistic system was maintained : a redemption to come was embraced in faith : and, in a religion laden with ritual, and charged with symbol, no rite, no symbol, was permitted to exhibit to the senses, and through the senses to the mind, of the people, the form of Him that was to be the worker of the great deliverance. Thus was kept vacant until the appointed time, in the general belief as well as in the scheme or theory of religion, the sublime and solitary place which the Redeemer of the world was to fill. Counterfeits there were, but they had not that dangerous resemblance to the truth, which would enable them to make head against the Messiah when He

* 2 Chron. iv. 2-5. † Exod. xxv. 17. ‡ 2 Chron. iii. 10.
§ Ezek. i. 5-10.

should arrive. And so, after He had come, His only rivals and competitors in Judæa were conceptions, distorted in the abstract, of His character and office; far different from those solid formations of an embodied and organised religion, whose dangerous contact the Gospel had not to encounter, until the life and work of its author, and the foundation of the Christian society with all its essential powers, were complete.

Let us now turn to the religion of the Hellenic race; and we shall find that, as matter of fact, it appropriated to itself, and was intensely permeated by, that very anthropomorphic * element which the Mosaic system was so especially framed to exclude, and to which the other religions of antiquity gave, in comparison, but a doubtful and secondary place.

If I am asked to point out a link which especially associates the early Greek mythology with the humanistic element of primitive tradition, I venture to name the character of Apollo as pre-eminently supplying such a link. He is born of Zeus, but he is not born of Herè. Through him the divine counsels are revealed to the world as the God of prophecy and of oracle. This lamp of knowledge, burning in him, establishes an affinity between him and the sun; but the anthropomorphic energy of the religion is jealous of the absorption of Deity into mere nature-power. At what period the identification of Apollo with the sun took place in the Hellenic system, we cannot say; but this we know, that it had not taken place in the

* Note V.

time of Homer, with whom Apollo and the Sun are perfectly distinct individuals. To him is assigned the healing art, and the general office of deliverance. To him again, who remains to the last the perfect model of masculine beauty in the human form, is assigned by tradition the conquest alike over Death and over the might of the rebellious spirits. In his hands we find functions of such rank and such range, that we cannot understand how they could pass to him from Zeus the supreme deity, until we remember that they are the very functions assigned by a more real and higher system to the Son of God; the true Instructor, Healer, Deliverer, Judge, and Conqueror of Death, in whom the power and majesty of the Godhead were set forth to the world.*

The character of this deity, whom Eusebius calls "the most venerable and the wisest" † of the whole Olympian order, affords, in my opinion, the most complete and varied proof of the traditional relationship to which I now refer. Abundant evidence, however, of the same character, might be adduced under many other heads. But I do not refer to this weighty subject at present with a view of leading you to affirm the existence of such a relationship: that could not legitimately be done, except upon a scrutiny, both deliberate and minute, of a great mass of evidence, gathered from many quarters, and dependent for much of its force upon careful comparison and juxta-position. I now advert to the question only as

* Note VI. † Præp. Evang. iv. 17.

casting light upon matter which will follow. What I take, however, to be indisputable, apart from all theorising upon causes, is this fact—that the Hellenic mythology is charged throughout with the humanistic element, in a manner clearly and broadly separating it from the other religions of the ancient world. It has anthropomorphism for the soul and centre of all that is distinctive in it; and that peculiar quality seems to enter, more or less, into the religion of other tribes nearly in proportion as they were related to the Hellenic race.

Let us now shortly contemplate that mythology, such as it appears in the works of Homer, its prime and most conspicuous author, and himself the true representative of the purely Hellenic spirit in its largest and most authentic form.

The theology of Homer is variously composed. He seems to have lived at the critical moment in the history of the Hellenic, or, as they were then called, Achaian families or tribes, when the different ethnical elements or factors with which they were to assimilate—Pelasgic, Ionian, Egyptian, Phœnician, and the like—settled down and compounded themselves into the firmly-knit and sharply-defined character of a people, and they were no longer a chaotic assemblage of unassorted or even conflicting units, but as a people were born into that world on whose fortunes they were to exercise an influence almost immeasurable.

The theology of Homer is the Olympian system; and that system exhibits a kind of royal or palace-life

of man,* but on the one hand more splendid and powerful, on the other more intense and free. It is a wonderful and a gorgeous creation. It is eminently in accordance with the signification of that English epithet—rather a favourite apparently with our old writers—the epithet *jovial*,† which is derived from the Latin name of its head. It is a life of all the pleasures of mind and body, of banquet and of revel, of music and of song; a life in which solemn grandeur alternates with jest and gibe; a life of childish wilfulness and fretfulness, combined with serious, manly, and imperial cares; for the Olympus of Homer has at least this one recommendation to esteem, —that it is not peopled with the merely lazy and selfish gods of Epicurus, but its inhabitants busily deliberate on the government of man, and in their debates the cause of justice wins. I do not now, however, discuss the moral titles of the Olympian scheme; what I dwell upon is, its intense humanity, alike in its greatness and its littleness, its glory and its shame.

As the cares and joys of human life, so the structure of society below is reflected, by the wayward wit of man, on heaven above. Though the names and fundamental traditions of the several deities were wholly or in great part imported from abroad, their characters, relations, and attributes passed under a Hellenising process, which gradually marked off for them special provinces and functions, according to laws which appear to have been mainly original and

* Grote's 'History of Greece,' vol. i. pp. 4 seqq. and 462 seqq.

† Note VII.

indigenous, and to have been taken by analogy from the division of labour in political society. As early as in Homer, while the prerogatives of Apollo and Athenè are almost universal, yet the Olympian society has its complement of officers and servants with their proper functions. Hephaistos moulds the twenty golden thrones which move automatically to form the circle of the council of the gods; and builds for each of his brother deities their separate palaces in the deep-folded recesses of the mighty mountain. Music and song are supplied by Apollo and the Muses: Ganymede and Hebe are the cup-bearers: Hermes and Iris are the messengers: but Themis, in whom is impersonated the idea of deliberation and of relative rights, is the summoner of the *κατακλησία* * or Great Assembly of the Twentieth Iliad, when the great issue of the war is to be determined. Nothing nearer this on earth has perhaps been bodied forth by the imagination of later poets than the scene, in which Schiller has described the coronation of Rodolph of Hapsburg, with the Electors of the Empire discharging their several offices around him: I quote from the only translation within my reach:—

"The ancient hall of Aix was bright:
The coronation-board beside
Sate king Rodolph's anointed might,
In Kaiser's pomp and pride:
His meat was served by the Palatine,
Bohemia poured the sparkling wine;
The seven Electors every one
Stood, fast about the wide-world's king,
Each his high function following,
Like the planets round the sun."

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* Note VIII.

But a still deeper trace of humanitarianism lay in the transportation of the family order into heaven. Only the faintest rudiment of such a system could have been drawn from Semitic sources; but it was carried by the Hellenes to its furthest consequences, and used for the basis of their supernatural structure. The old Pelasgian deities of the country, the importations from Thrace, Phœnicia, Egypt, or elsewhere, and the traditions proper to the Hellenic tribes themselves, were all marshalled and adjusted in a scheme formed according to the domestic relations familiar to us on earth. The Nature-powers of the older worship received the honorary distinction of being made parents and grand or great-grand sires to the ruling dynasty; but, while thus tricked out with barren dignity, they were deprived of all active functions, and relegated into practical insignificance. Still the very arrangements, which are anomalous in the abstract, testify to the strength of that anthropomorphic principle, to which they owed their recognition. For the elder deities were not the more powerful; and parents were supplanted by their sons. Oceanus the sire of the whole family, and Tethys their mother, have for practical purposes no power or place in the Olympian system. They exercise no influence whatever on the life or destinies of man. As the mere representations of certain physical forces, they were ejected from their old supremacy by the more aspiring and truer tendencies of the first Hellenic creed; but that same creed, still copying earth in heaven, found for them a place, as the

decrepit and superannuated members of the system, who had passed from the exercise of sovereignty into retirement, like Laertes * on his rural farm in Ithaca. More or less of the same domestic structure is ascribed without doubt to the theogonies of some other countries; but our accounts of them may have been influenced by Greek sympathies, and besides I am not aware that in any of them the domestic theory was worked out with the same genial feeling, and almost universal consistency.

In one respect indeed, at the least, there was a conflict of contending sentiments. The early Hellenes seem to have had a peculiar horror of incestuous connection. But the notion of unity of descent among the gods excluded the possibility of arranging them in the family order except by nuptial relationships which, upon earth and for themselves, Greeks would have abhorred. The strong repugnance gave way under the bidding of a necessity yet stronger: their profound sense of the natural order was less disturbed by having Zeus a polygamist, with his sister for his principal wife, than it would have been by abandoning that scheme of propagation from parent to child upon which the whole Olympian hierarchy was arranged. The acknowledgment of what was forbidden on earth as established in heaven represents, in all likelihood, the concessions which were necessary in order to prevent a breach in the framework of the popular creed, and to weld into one system elements that belonged to many.

* Odyss. xxiv., 205 seqq.

The materials for the old religions, outside of Greece and the Greek races, were in great part afforded first by the worship of nature, and secondly by the worship of animals. Both of these the early Hellenic system steadily rejected and eschewed; and their religion took its stand upon the idea, which inseparably incorporated deity in the matchless human form. This, and much besides, obscured in the later and more mixed traditions, stands out clearly in the earliest records of the Greeks. The 'Theogony' of Hesiod, which must be regarded as a work of very great antiquity, exhibits to us the elemental and the Olympian gods in groups clearly enough distinguished. The poems of Homer, far more Hellenic in their spirit, may be said to exclude and repel from the sacred precinct alike the heavenly bodies and the elemental powers. The plague in the first Iliad bears evident marks of solar agency: but, without the least allusion to that luminary, it is ascribed to Apollo in one of the noblest anthropomorphic passages of the poems. The Sun * only once appears as a person in the Iliad, when he reluctantly obeys the command of Herè that by setting he shall end the day, which was the last day of Trojan success; thus indicating the side to which, as an elemental deity, he inclined. Again, Xanthos, a river god, appears in the Theomachy: but he appears on the side of Troy; and he seems also to have had one name as a deity with the Trojans,† another with the Greeks or Achaians as a

* Note IX. † Note X.

stream. When Agamemnon offers solemn sacrifice for his army only, he invokes Zeus alone, and invokes him as dwelling in the sky.* But when he offers the joint sacrifice of the two parties in the Third Book, then he invokes Zeus as governing from the hill of Ida, which was in his view, and invokes with him the Sun, the Earth, and the Rivers.† The Rivers are summoned to the Olympian assembly of the Twentieth Book; but it is an assembly in which the gods are to take their several sides. It is a mistake to suppose that Poseidon was an elemental god: he was the patron of the sea, as he was of the horse, but he was more the god of navigation than of water. The sea had its elemental god, the hoary Nereus, with Amphitrite seemingly for his wife; but Amphitrite is always the moaning Amphitrite, and Nereus never emerges from the depths; nor, though he is frequently referred to, is he ever named on the Hellenic page of Homer.‡ I turn to another head.

Loath on the one side to admit the imposing elements of Nature-worship on the grand scale, the Olympian system is yet more alien to the other favourite form of religious illusion, the worship offered to animals, and particularly to the ox; of which Egypt seems to have been the head-quarters. In the full exhibition, which the poems of Homer afford us, of the religion in its earlier forms, there is not a trace of animal worship. In the Odyssey, indeed, an awful and mystic sacredness attaches to the Oxen of the

* Il. ii. 412. † Il. iii. ‡ Note XI.

Sun. In the island of Thrinakiè, detained by adverse winds, the companions of Odysseus are warned that under no extremity should they supply their wants by the destruction of these animals. Accordingly they resort to birds and fish, unusual food with the Homeric Greeks; they finally put some of the animals to death, only to avoid dying themselves by famine; and for this offence the entire crew, except Odysseus, who had not shared in it, are drowned when next they take to sea. Now, although there is no animal worship here, there is what may be called animal sanctity; but it is in connection with a deity not even recognised at the time in the Hellenic system; and introduced as it is during the voyage in remote parts, which must have been based upon the tales of Phœnician mariners, it appears certainly to belong to the Phœnician circle of mythology.

And here we find an example of the manner in which the immense plastic power of the Hellenic mind dealt with foreign ideas of all kinds, so as to make them its own. What their sculptors did with the rude and formless art of Egypt, what their philosophers did with the shreds of Eastern knowledge picked up on their travels, their theology did with the many and crude varieties of superstition, which flowed in upon them from the numerous quarters that furnished by sea and land immigrants for the Hellenic peninsula. The old Pelasgian gods, not rudely overthrown, but gently taken from their pedestals, were set down harmless in the shade of a mellow distance; and the animals, before which lower

types of men were content to bow down the godlike head, were not, when the traditions that deified them set foot on Grecian soil, thrust wholly out of view; but they were put into appropriate and always secondary places. The eagle of Zeus, the falcon of Apollo, the peacock of Herè, the owl of Pallas, stood no higher in Greece than as accessories to the figures on which they attend.

In the scheme of Homer, not all even of these are found. And while in Homer we should look in vain for anything beyond the faintest and most ambiguous trace of a connection between Apollo and the wolf, we find that connection full-blown in the Egyptian mythology, as it is reported by Diodorus, where Horos, his counterpart in the system of that country, is rescued from death by Osiris in the form of that animal; and on the other hand, the later Greek tradition, more deeply charged with foreign elements, abounds with traditions of the wolf,* which in Athens was the protective emblem of the courts of justice. But, even thus far down the stream, the rule seems to hold, that when the figures of the brute creation are allowed to appear in the Hellenic system, they seem to be reduced to subordinate and secondary uses.

Saint Clement, indeed, charges† upon the Greeks certain instances both of nature-worship and of the worship of animals; but in a manner, and with particulars, which show how slight and local were the instances of either. It will not be expected that in

* Müller's 'Dorians,' i. 273, 325. (Tufnell and Lewis's translation.)

† S. Clem. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 16, B.

an Address of this nature I should attempt those minuter shadings, which general statements like the foregoing must require in order to perfect accuracy. Besides, a common substratum of ideas runs through the mass of the old religions of the world: but we trace the genius of each nation, and it may be the Providential purpose for which that genius was imparted, in its distinctive mode of handling the common stock, here enlarging, there contracting, here elevating, there depressing, so as to produce a distinctive and characteristic result.

And now I will endeavour to point out, in rude and rapid outline, some of the remarkable results of this *idée mère* of the Greek religion, the annexation of manhood to deity, and the reciprocal incorporation of deity into manhood: which made the human form the link between the visible and the invisible worlds, the meeting-point of earth and heaven. And here my object will be only to give you a sample of the redundant materials which seem to rise up around me thickly piled on every side; most of all, perhaps, in the Homeric or Achaian period.

First I will remark a profound reverence for human life and human nature, which even the fiercest passions of war would but rarely, and only for a moment, violate. Hence we find the highest refinements of the manners of the gentleman existing at a time, when, among the Greeks, the material appliances of civilisation were in their infancy, and when writing and the alphabet were practically unknown. The sentiment of honour is indicated, at

this epoch, by a word (αἴδως) too delicate for our rendering by a single term in the English, perhaps in any modern tongue. A catalogue of horrors that have stained the life of man elsewhere, sometimes even in the midst of the triumphs of culture and refinement, were unknown to the Achaian period. I will dwell for a moment on one of these, the practice of human sacrifice.

You will find* from a charming volume, the Miscellanies of Lord Stanhope, that a few years ago, some of the most famous men of our day were brought by him into correspondence on the interesting, but to many startling, question whether human sacrifices were in use among the Romans: not the unlettered semi-barbarians of Romulus or Tarquin, but the Romans of Rome in its highest political power and its palmiest civilisation. Naturally enough, a considerable repugnance was manifested to entertaining this supposition: but as the inquiry proceeded, a younger yet profoundly learned scholar, Sir John Acton, was brought into the field. His full and varied researches do not appear in the pages of Lord Stanhope. But they range well nigh over all space and time. His conclusions are that "we find traces of it, that is of human sacrifice, "throughout almost the whole Hellenic world, in the "*cultus* of almost every god, and in all periods of their "independent history."† That among the Romans it was still more rife: and that, though attempts were

* Stanhope's 'Miscellanies,' p. 112. † Acton, p. 19.

made to restrain or put down the practice, even the famous edict of Adrian, to which Eusebius allows the honour of its extinction, failed to effect it: nay, more, that "in every generation of the four centuries, "from the fall of the Republic to the establishment of "Christianity, human victims were sacrificed by the "Emperors" themselves.

The conclusions of Sir John Acton are not admitted in their full breadth by other great authorities;* but it seems impossible to doubt the wide-spread and long-continued, or often recurring prevalence of the practice, in contact, more or less, with civilised times and nations, and sustained in various degrees by perverse but accepted ideas of religion.

Notwithstanding this terrible and too well sustained indictment against the unenlightened and the enlightened world, it is pleasing to observe that this horrible rite did not originally belong to the usages of Greece. It seems to have come in by a late contagion from abroad: and human sacrifice is not found in Homer. The slaughter of some Trojan youths by Achilles, in his unsated vengeance, has none of the marks of a religious rite, and no relation to a deity. Of the tradition of Iphigenia, sacrificed in Aulis for the welfare of the Achaian host, Homer is wholly ignorant: and Agamemnon in the Iliad speaks of his daughters as open to the option of Achilles, as many fathers may since have done who had two or three of them ready to marry, but so as

* Milman's 'Hist. of Christ.,' i. p. 27, 1st edition.

almost to supply sufficient evidence that no such blood-stained gap had been made in the circle of his family. It is many centuries later, when the tradition reaches us in the works of the tragedians. In that grandest of all Greek dramas, the 'Agamemnon' of Æschylus, his murderous wife Clytemnestra seeks an apology for her act partly in the immolation of Iphigenia by her father's hand: and the tone of the play is so condemnatory as to suggest that an Athenian audience, of the middle of the fifth century before Christ, did not allow religion to be an adequate apology for the deed.

At a somewhat later period, the 'Iphigenia in Tauris' of Euripides supplies us with more direct evidence that the practice, while not indigenous in Greece, was foully rife among other races. The scene is laid abroad in barbaric territory: and the chorus of Greek attendants on the doomed Princess, addressing the Deity, says, "Receive, O venerable one, this sacrifice, if it be a sacrifice agreeable to thee, which the law of us Greeks declares to be unholy." Thus showing that the tradition of the foreign origin of the abominable rite, and the original freedom of the Hellenic system from it, was cherished in the memory of the people.

I have already had to observe that the Achaians eschewed both incest and polygamy. I may add that even the unconscious incest of Œdipus and Jocasta drew down the heaviest calamities: and further that we have no trace, among the Homeric records, not only of cannibalism but of violence to nature in any

form. The crimes of abortion and the exposure of infants, authorised and commended by Plato in his ideal State,* have no place in the Homeric poems: nor do they afford the slightest indication of those shameless lusts, which formed the incredible and indelible disgrace† of Greece in the time of its consummate supremacy in Art, and at the climax of its boasted civilisation.

If I am right in my estimate of the place which the human form held in its relation to the Hellenic religion, we may naturally expect to find it attested, among other ways, by the following signs:—an intense admiration of personal beauty:‡ a resentment against and avoidance of deformity, as a kind of sin against the law of nature: and a marked disposition to associate ignorance with vice.

I cannot now undertake to exhibit the remarkable manner in which these anticipations are realised in Homer: whose appreciation of the beauty of the human form appears from unequivocal signs to exceed that of any author in any age or country: while upon the other side, introducing but one vicious character, Thersites, among the Greeks of the Iliad, he describes his personal appearance with a degree of detail foreign to his habit, in order, seemingly, that, even as we read, we may see him before us in his hideous deformity. The same topics might be illustrated in detail from the later history of Greece, in modes inconsistent or questionable enough, yet

* Plat. de Republ., B. vi. † Note XII. ‡ Note XIII.

abundantly significant. Courtesans of extraordinary beauty were sometimes chosen to march in the processions of the gods. By the side of the evil tradition of Aphrodite the promiscuous, there lingered long the rival tradition of an Aphrodite the heavenly. On the other hand, with respect to deformity, I do not remember that Aristophanes,* in his campaign against Socrates, makes the use which we might have expected of the ugliness of the philosopher. And though jests were freely passed upon actual eccentricity of feature, I have not seen it proved, in such partial examination of the subject as has lain within my power, that the Greeks were wont to make use of that which we call caricature; which I understand to be, the founding upon some known or peculiar feature a representation of deformity that does not exist, for the purpose of exciting ridicule or hatred. Among the moderns this practice appears to have been employed even to stimulate religious animosity or fury: and the rarity or absence of it, among a people possessed of such high sarcastic power as the Greeks, suggests that it may have been excluded by the predominating force of a traditional reverence, grown into instinct, for the beauty of the human form; having its origin nowhere with greater likelihood than in the early and continued association of that form with the highest objects of religion.

I will now refer to the feeling of the Homeric period concerning the sacredness of the human body

* Note XIV.

against both violation and exposure. The horror of Priam in anticipating his own death at the coming sack of Troy rises to its climax, when he brings into the picture the tearing and defilement by dogs of his own exposed and naked figure.* And the extremest point of punishment threatened to the degraded Thersites appears to be the stripping of his person for the disgust and derision of the camp, and the seaming it with "indecorous" wounds.† Nor was this respect for decency a shallow or shortlived tradition. It was indeed rudely tried; since it came into conflict with the eagerness of the race for high physical activity and athletic development, stimulated to the uttermost by the great national institution of the Games, in which, as Horace said with little exaggeration, the palm of the victor uplifted even the lords of earth to the honours of the gods. Yet, important as it was for perfection in those unparalleled contests to free the person from the restraints of clothing, Thucydides‡ in his Preface tells us that the athletes were formerly covered: that the Lacedæmonians were the first to strip in the arena, and that it was not many years before his time when the fashion reached its height.

But when we are seeking to ascertain the measure of that conception which any given race has formed of our nature, there is perhaps no single test so

* Il. xxii. 66-76.

† Il. ii. 261-64; *ἀεικέσσι πληγῇσιν.* To appreciate the force of the remark, the passages should be consulted in the original.

‡ Thucyd. i. c. . See Aristoph. *Νεφ.* 972 seqq., on the garb of youths when with their master of gymnastics.

effective as the position which it assigns to woman. For as the law of force is the law of the brute creation, so, in proportion as he is under the yoke of that law, does man approximate to the brute: and in proportion, on the other hand, as he has escaped from its dominion, is he ascending into the higher sphere of being, and claiming relationship with deity. But the emancipation and due ascendancy of woman are not a mere fact: they are the emphatic assertion of a principle: and that principle is the dethronement of the law of force, and the enthronement of other and higher laws in its place, and in its despite.

Outside the pale of Christianity, it would be difficult to find a parallel, in point of elevation, to the Greek woman of the heroic age. Mr. Buckle candidly acknowledges that her position was then much higher than it had come to be in the most civilised historic period of Greece; and yet he was a writer whose bias, and the general cast of whose opinions, would have disposed him to an opposite conclusion. Again: if the pictures presented by the historical books of the Old Testament and by Homer respectively be compared, candour will claim from us a verdict in favour of the position of the Greek as compared with that of the Hebrew woman. Among the Jews polygamy was permitted; to the Greeks, as has been said, it was unknown. Tales like that of Amnon and Tamar,* or like that of the Levite and his concubine,† are not found even among the deeds of the

* Judges xix. † 2 Sam. xiii.

dissolute Suitors of the Odyssey. Among the Jews the testimony of our Lord is that because of the hardness of their hearts Moses suffered them to put away their wives: but that "from the beginning it was not so." * Apart from the violent contingencies of war, manners seem to have been, in the momentous point of divorce, not very different among the Greeks of the heroic age, from what they had been in "the beginning." The picture of Penelope waiting for her husband through the creeping course of twenty years, and of Odysseus yearning in like manner for his wife, is one of the most remarkable in the whole history of human manners; and it would lose little, if anything, of its deeper significance and force, even if we believed that the persons, whom the poet names Odysseus and Penelope, have never lived. It must be observed, too, what, in the mind of Homer, constitutes the extraordinary virtue of the royal matron. It is not the refusal to marry another while her husband is alive, but her stubborn determination not to accept the apparently certain conclusion that he must have ceased to live. Not even the Suitors suggest that, if he be indeed alive, any power can set her free.

Scarcely less noteworthy, for the purpose of the present argument, are the immunities which she enjoys even in her painful position. She is importuned, but she is not insulted. She feels horror and aversion, but she has no cause for fear. Such, in the

* St. Matt. xix. 8.

morning of Greek life, was the reverence that hedged a woman, as she sat alone and undefended in the midst of a body of powerful and abandoned men.

Again: the famous scene of Hector and Andromache* is not more touching by its immeasurable tenderness, than it is important for the proof which it affords, with reference to the contemporary manners, of what may be called the moral equality of man and wife. And the general effect of the poems is, to give an idea of a social parity, and of a share borne by women in the practical and responsible duties of life, such as we seek in vain, notwithstanding some charming specimens of character, among the Jews. Still less can it be found among the Greeks of the more polished ages. In their annals, we scarce ever hear of a wife or mother, though the names of mistresses and courtesans are entered on the roll of fame, and Phryne† dedicated in a Phocian temple a gilded statue of herself, which was wrought by the hand of Praxiteles. Indeed, not to speak of the poetry of Euripides, even the most solid and impartial judgments, such as those of Thucydides and Aristotle, were unfavourably warped in their estimate of women.

It would, I have no doubt, be possible to illustrate in great detail from ancient records the high value set by the Greeks upon man, in his mind, life, and person. I will mention two instances from Pausanias. An Arcadian, named Skedasos, living at

* Il. vi. 390 seqq. † Pausanias, x. c. 14, sub fin.

Leuctra, had two daughters, who were violated by Lacedæmonian youths. Unable to bear the shame, they put an end to their lives. Their father, also, having in vain sought justice from the Spartan authorities, sternly recoiled from the disgrace, and destroyed himself. In after times Epaminondas, about to join battle with the Spartans at the place, made offerings and prayers to the insulted maidens and to their parent; and then won the victory which laid low the power of Sparta.

The other is of a different, and a yet more singular, character. The statue of Theagenes, the Thasian athlete,* after his death, fell upon an enemy of his, and killed him. The sons of the man, who thus lost his life, brought an action against the statue; and it was thrown into the sea, under a law of Draco, which made inanimate objects punishable for destroying human existence. Nor was this law peculiar to Athens, where it was maintained in the legislation of Solon. For, as we see, it was recognised in Thasos. Now there is an apparent resemblance between this law and the English law of deodand, which involved the forfeiture, says Blackstone,† of "whatever personal chattel is the immediate cause of the death of any reasonable creature." But I think that, with much seeming similarity, the cases are essentially different. Deodand was originally a payment to the Sovereign to be applied to pious uses, and seems to have passed into a manorial right, or, in the

* Pausanias, vi. 11, 12.

† Blackstone's Commentaries, i. 8, 16.

Germanic codes,* into a compensation for homicide, payable to the surviving relatives. But it proceeded upon the principle of making owners pay; though they paid in respect of homicide effected through a material instrument. The Greek law inflicted punishment upon the inanimate matter itself, for having violated the sanctity of human life. In this essential point it exactly corresponded with the remarkable law of Moses, which said, "If an ox gore a man that "he die, the ox shall be stoned, and his flesh shall not "be eaten."† But even this provision falls greatly short of the full spirit of the Greek law, since even the animal that kills is conscious, and gores from excited passion.

I pass, however, to a subject of larger scope, and I venture to suggest that the anthropomorphic spirit of the Greek religion was the source of that excellence in art, which has become to after ages a model for imitation, and a tribunal without appeal.

All are aware that the Greek religion was eminently poetical; for it fulfilled in the most striking manner that condition which poetry above all requires, harmony in the relation between the worlds of soul and sense. Every river, fountain, grove, and hill, was associated with the heart and imagination of the Greek; subject, however, always to the condition that they should appear as ruled by a presiding spirit, and that that spirit should be impersonated in the human shape. A poetical religion must, it seems, be favourable to art. The beauty of form which so much

* Grote's 'History of Greece,' ii. 10, and iii. 104.

† Exodus xxi. 28.

abounded in the country was also favourable to art. The Athenians, however, are stated not to have been beautiful; and at Sparta, where art was neglected, beauty was immensely prized. And, indeed, the personal beauty of a race is by no means usually found sufficient to produce the development of the fine arts: and as to the poetry of religion, and its bearing upon art, while a general connection may be admitted, it is very difficult to define the manner and degree. The practice of image-worship promotes the production of works, first rude and coarse, then more or less vulgar and tawdry. Over the whole continent of Europe there is scarcely at this moment an object of popular veneration, which is worthy to be called a work of art. Of the finest remaining works of Greek art, not very many, I imagine, bear the mark of having been intended for worship. The great size required for statues like the Athenè of the Parthenon and the Zeus of Olympia, seems unfavourable to the exhibition of fine art in the highest sense.* In Pausanias we find notices of an immense number of statues in and about the temples: they are not commonly, I think, praised for excellence in this respect; and the mixture of materials, to which we find constant reference, could hardly have been chosen by the artist for the sake of his own proper purpose. I have heard Lord Macaulay give his opinion that this mixture in the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia, made of ivory and gold, simple as was that form of combination, may probably have

* Note XV.

been due to the necessity of condescension to the popular taste in connection with an object of worship. Although, therefore, the highest artists were employed, it does not appear probable that they derived any part of their higher inspiration from the fervour or the multitude of the worshippers in the temples. Neither will it avail to urge the great esteem in which the professors of the arts were held. High indeed it was; and the successions of sculptors in the different schools * seem to have been recorded apparently with almost as much care as the Archons of Athens, or the Priestesses of Herè at Argos, those landmarks of the history of States. But the question recurs, was their estimation the cause of their excellence, or was their excellence the cause of their estimation; and if the estimation flowed from the excellence, whence came the excellence itself? Both the one and the other were perhaps due to another cause.

That many accessories contributed to the wonderful result I do not doubt. But mainly and essentially, every art and method, every device and habit, in the language of Aristotle, has an end; and is modelled upon the end at which it aims; and by that end its greatness or its littleness is measured. Now the climax of all art, it seems to be agreed, is the rendering of the human form. What, then, could be so calculated to raise this representation to the acmè of its excellence, as the belief that the human form was not only the tabernacle, but the original and proper

* Pausanias, in divers passages.

shape, the inseparable attribute, of Deity itself? In the quaint language of George Herbert,

"He that aims the moon
Shoots higher much, than he that means a tree."

And again as Tennyson has sung:

"It was my duty to have loved the highest:
We needs must love the highest when we see it,
Not Lancelot, nor another." *

It was this perpetual presentation of the highest to the mind of the Greek artist, that cheered him, and rewarded him, and yet, while it cheered him and rewarded him, still ever spurred him on in his pursuit. Whatever he had done, more remained to do,

"Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum."

The desire of ambition was fulfilled: he had always more worlds to conquer. The divine was made familiar to him, by correspondence of shape: but on the other side, its elements, which it was his business to draw forth and indicate to men, reached far away into the infinite. And I know not what true definition there is for any age or people of the highest excellence in any kind, unless it be perpetual effort upwards in pursuit of an object higher than ourselves, higher than our works, higher even than our hopes, yet beckoning us on from hour to hour, and always permitting us to apprehend in part.

I venture then to propound for consideration the opinion, that the fundamental cause of the transcendant excellence of the Greek artist lay in his being, by his birth and the tradition of his people, as well

* Idylls of the King: Guinevere.

as with every favouring accessory, both in idea and in form, and in such a sense as no other artist was, a worker upon deity, conceived as residing in the human form.

It is hardly necessary to observe how the rich and many-sided composition of the Greek mythology favoured the artist in his work, by answering to the many-sided development of the mind and life of man.

Unconsciously then to himself, and in a sphere of almost parochial narrowness, the Greek not only earned himself an immortal fame, but was equipping from age to age a great School of Art, to furnish principles and models made ready to the hand of that purer and higher civilisation which was to be; and over the preparation of which, all the while, Divine Providence was brooding, like the Spirit on the face of the waters, till the fulness of time should come.

But besides the Art and the Poetry of the Greeks, there were other provinces in which their achievements were no less remarkable; and, with reference to the present argument, I must shortly touch upon their philosophy.

The first philosophers of the Greek race were not for the most part natives and inhabitants of Greece, nor subject exclusively to Greek influences. Their speculations turned mainly on the nature of the first principle, and partook of an eastern spirit. But when philosophy took up her abode in the country where Hellenism was supreme and without a rival, that human element, which lay so profoundly em-

bedded in the whole constitution of the Hellenic mind, unfolded itself in the region of speculative thought; and the true meaning of the famous saying that Socrates called down philosophy from Heaven would seem to be, that he gave expression to the genius of his country by propounding, as the prime subject for the study of man, the nature, constitution, and destiny of man himself. And the illustrious series of disciples, some of them probably greater than their master, who followed his example, were not therein aping or adopting the mere peculiarity of an individual, but obeying a congenial impulse that sprang from the depths of their being. Whatever philosophy was to be indigenous in Greece could not but be predominantly and profoundly human; and their power and fame, as analysts of our unfathomable constitution, are fresh and unabated at the present hour. Fashion may wave her wand, but it is with small result. Idolatrous veneration of course has at times begotten temporary reaction and neglect; but the power of Greek culture seems again and again to assert itself by virtue of the law which makes all things find their level, and since it came into existence it has never ceased to be in the most instructed periods the chief criterion and means of the highest intellectual training: not, of course, necessarily for each individual, but for classes and for countries.

The point, however, to which I wish to draw particular attention at this moment, is the large and

well-balanced view, to which Greek Philosophy attained, of the compound nature of man.

Never, probably, has there appeared upon the stage of the world so remarkable an union, as in the Greeks, of corporal with mental excellence. From the beginning of the race, Homer shared the privilege of his most gorgeous epithet * between battle and debate. The Odes of such a poet as Pindar, handing onwards the tradition of the Twenty-third Iliad, commemorate, so to speak, the marriage of athletic exercise with the gift of Song. We do not trace among the Greeks that contrast, which is found so rude and sharp elsewhere, between energy in the body and energy in the brain. The Greek was in this respect like Adam in the noble verse of Milton,

"For contemplation and for valour born."

And the Greek philosophy was for nothing more remarkable than the manner in which it not only asserted but felt, as an elementary law, the place of the Body in human education.

This was with no exclusive or peculiar view to what we should call utilitarian purposes, such as those of defence or industry, or even art. It seems to have been rather an ample recognition of the right of the body to be cared for, and to be reared in its various organs up to the highest excellence it is capable of attaining, as being, what indeed it is, not

* κυδιάνειρα. Il. i. 490; iv. 225, *et alibi*.

a mere vesture, or tool, or appendage of the soul, but, like the soul, an integral part of man himself.

This plenitude and accuracy of view on such a subject is the more to be regarded on some special grounds. In general, the philosophies of the world, outside of Christianity, have shown a tendency to fluctuate between sensuality on the one hand, and on the other a contempt and hatred of matter, and a disposition to identify it with the principle of evil. The philosophy of Socrates, of Plato, and of Aristotle, seems to have steered clear and safe between this Scylla and this Charybdis. But again, the Greek saw, as all men see, the body parted from the soul at death, and hastening rapidly, as by the law of its nature, to corruption. To none could this severance, and its mournful and painful incidents, be more repulsive than to him, with his delicate perceptions and his lively emotions. Of a future existence in any shape he usually knew or even surmised little; of the revival of the body, or of the reunion hereafter of the two great factors of the human being, he had yet less conception. We may say then that he lay under every temptation to a disparaging view of the body and of its office. Yet, in spite of his immense disadvantage, it fell to him to find a place for the body in the philosophy of human nature, and to incorporate the principle thus conceived in laws, usages, and institutions, with a clearness and general justness of view, by which Christian learning has done and will yet do well to profit. What with us is somewhat dubious and fluctuating both in theory and in practice, with

him was familiar and elementary in both; and the teachers of mental accomplishment taught also the science, if not the art, of bodily excellence.

Thus for example Plato, in his Treatise on the State, has to consider what men are fit to be chosen for rulers. They should if possible, he says, have the advantage of personal beauty. They must be energetic: and he therefore proceeds to treat of the character of the φιλόπονος,* or diligent man. He must be ready and keen in study: for human souls are much more cowardly in strong studies than in exercises of corporal strength: as in the former they bear all the burden, instead of sharing it with the body. But philosophy itself, he admits, has fallen into some dishonour, from a tendency to partiality in handling this question. The truly diligent man, then, must not be halt or one-sided in his diligence. If he be fond of athletic exercise and of sports, but not apt for learning and inquiry, then he is but half-diligent. And no less "lame" will he be, says the philosopher, if, addicted to mental pursuits, he neglects the training of the body, and of the organs with which it is endowed. This may serve for a sample, but it is a sample only, of the large and complete grasp of the Greek philosophy upon the nature of man: and I connect this largeness and completeness with the fact that the Greek, from the nature of his religion, cherished in a special degree the idea of the near association of human existence, in soul and body,

* Plat. de Rep. B. vii. p. 535.

with that existence which we necessarily regard as the largest and most complete, namely with the Divine.

It may indeed be said, that the Greek lowered and contaminated the Divine idea by weak and by vile elements carried into it from the human. Yes: this and much more may be said, and said with truth. Nothing can be more humbling or more instructive, than the total failure of the Greek mind with all its powers either to attain or even to make progress towards attaining the greater ends of creation by rendering man either good or happy. This is the negative but most important purpose, which the Greek of old may have been destined to fulfil; the purpose of casting down the strongholds of our pride, by first showing us how great he is, and then leaving us to see how little, when standing alone, is all his greatness, if it be measured with reference to its results in accomplishing those ends of life, without which every other end is vain. But I am not now engaged in endeavouring to ascertain what Greek life or what the Greek mind was in itself, and for itself; nor for what negative or secondary uses the study of it may be available. I wish to point out in some degree what it was for a purpose beyond itself, what materials it was preparing for our use, how it was, if I may so express myself, the secular counterpart of the Gospel; and how it became, in one word, the great intellectual factor of the Christian civilisation.

Now it is not I think difficult to see that materials and instruments, such as it furnished, were required.

I will not attempt by argument to show, that all the powers and capacities of man, being the work of God, must have their proper place in His designs; and that the evil in the world arises not from their use but from their misuse, not from their active working each according to its place in the Providential order, but from their having gone astray, as the planets would if the centripetal force, that controls their action, were withdrawn.

We see then in the Greeks, beyond all question, these two things: first, a peculiar and powerful element of anthropomorphism pervading their religion, and giving it its distinctive character: secondly, a remarkable fulness, largeness, subtlety, elevation, and precision in their conception of human nature; taking form in, or at least accompanying, an immense vigour both of speculation and of action; a language of marvellous reach, elasticity, variety, and power; a scientific excellence in art never elsewhere attained; and an eminence in the various branches of letters which has given to them, for more than two thousand years, the place of first authority in the cultivated world. The Latin literature, though it has both a character and a purpose of its own, is, in its most splendid elements, derivative from the Greek.

Now, if we survey with care and candour the present wealth of the world—I mean its wealth intellectual, moral, and spiritual—we find that Christianity has not only contributed to the patrimony of man its brightest and most precious jewels, but has likewise been what our Saviour pronounced it, the salt or

preserving principle of all the residue, and has maintained its health, so far as it has been maintained at all, against corrupting agencies. But, the salt is one thing, the thing salted is another: and, as in the world of nature, so in the world of mind and of human action, there is much that is outside of Christianity, that harmonises with it, that revolves, so to speak, around it, but that did not and could not grow out of it. It seems to have been for the filling up of this outline, for the occupation of this broad sphere of exertion and enjoyment, that the Greeks were, in the councils of Providence, ordained to labour: that so the Gospel, produced in the fulness of time, after the world's long gestation, might have its accomplished work in rearing mankind up to his perfection, first in the spiritual life, but also, and through that spiritual life, in every form of excellence, for which his varied powers and capacities have been created.

If this be so, it is quite plain that the Greeks have their place in the Providential order, ay, and in the Evangelical Preparation, as truly and really as the children of Abraham themselves.

But indeed there is no need, in order to a due appreciation of our debt to the ancient Greeks, that we should either forget or disparage the function which was assigned by the Almighty Father to His most favoured people. Much profit, says St. Paul, had the Jew in every way. He had the oracles of God: he had the custody of the promises: he was the steward of the great and fundamental conception of the unity of God, the sole and absolute condition under

which the Divine idea could be upheld among men at its just elevation. No poetry, no philosophy, no art of Greece, ever embraced, in its most soaring and widest conceptions, that simple law of love towards God and towards our neighbour, on which "two com- "mandments hang all the law and the prophets," and which supplied the moral basis of the new dispensation. There is one history, and that the most touching and most profound of all, for which we should search in vain through all the pages of the classics,—I mean the history of the human soul in its relations with its Maker; the history of its sin, and grief, and death, and of the way of its recovery to hope and life, and to enduring joy. For the exercises of strength and skill, for the achievements and for the enchantments of wit, of eloquence, of art, of genius, for the imperial games of politics and war, let us seek them on the shores of Greece. But if the first among the problems of life be how to establish the peace and restore the balance of our inward being; if the highest of all conditions in the existence of the creature be his aspect towards the God to whom he owes his being, and in whose great hand he stands; then let us make our search elsewhere. All the wonders of the Greek civilisation heaped together are less wonderful than is the single Book of Psalms. Palestine was weak and despised, always obscure, oftentimes and long trodden down beneath the feet of imperious masters. Greece for a thousand years,

"Confident from foreign purposes," *

* King John, ii. 1.

repelled every invader from her shores, and, fostering her strength in the keen air of freedom, she defied, and at length overthrew, the mightiest of empires; and when finally she felt the resistless grasp of the masters of all the world, them too, at the very moment of her subjugation, she subdued to her literature, language, arts, and manners.* Palestine, in a word, had no share of the glories of our race; they blaze on every page of the history of Greece with an overpowering splendour. Greece had valour, policy, renown, genius, wisdom, wit,—she had all, in a word, that this world could give her; but the flowers of Paradise, which blossom thinly, blossomed in Palestine alone.

And yet, as the lower parts of our bodily organization are not less material than the higher to the safety and well-being of the whole, so Christianity itself was not ordained to a solitary existence in man, but to find helps meet for it in the legitimate use of every faculty, and in the gradually accumulated treasures of the genius, sagacity, and industry of the human family.

Besides the loftiest part of the work of Providence entrusted to the Hebrew race, there was other work to do, and it was done elsewhere. It was requisite to make ready the materials not only of a divine renewal and of a moral harmony for the world, but also for a thorough and searching culture of every power and gift of man, in all his relations to the

* Note XVI.

world and to his kind; so as to lift up his universal nature to the level upon which his relation as a creature to his Creator, and as a child to his Father, was about to be established.

And the question arises whether, among the auxiliaries required to complete the training process for our race, there were not to be found some which were of a quality, I will not say to act as a corrective to Christianity, but to act as a corrective to the narrow views and the excesses which might follow upon certain modes of conceiving and of applying it. Doubtless the just idea of their general purpose is that they were a collection of implements and materials to assist in the cultivation of the entire nature of man, and to consecrate all his being to the glory and the designs of his Maker. Yet in part they might have a purpose more special still,—the purpose of assigning due bounds to the action of impulses springing out of Christianity itself.

Now, that narrow conception, which I have mentioned, of the Jews as virtually the sole object of the Providential designs of God, while it began doubtless in a devout sentiment, passed into superstition when it led men to assign to the Jewish people every imaginable gift and accomplishment, and into virtual impiety when it came to imply that the Almighty had little care for the residue of His creatures. And certainly it was not to Scripture itself that opinions like these were due. In a Dissertation 'On the Prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the Heathen,' Bishop Horsley has shown what a large amount of

testimony is yielded by the Sacred Books to the remaining knowledge of the true God among the races in the neighbourhood of Judea. With them religion seems to have been for long periods, as was also to no small extent the religious practice of the Jews, an inconsistent combination of lingering and struggling truth with rampant error. Melchisedec, the type of Christ, Job, one of the chosen patrons of faith and patience, were of blood foreign to the patriarchal race; and the same agency of the prophetic order, which was employed to correct and guide the Jew, was not withheld from his neighbours: Balaam, among the Moabites, was a prophet inspired by the Most High. Of the minor prophetical books of the Old Testament two are expressly devoted to setting forth the burden of Nineveh and the dealings of God with its inhabitants: and Eastern Magi were, in the words of Bishop Horsley, "the first worshippers of Mary's Holy Child." *

A system of religion, however absolutely perfect for its purpose, however divine in its conception and expression, yet of necessity becomes human too, from the first moment of its contact with humanity; from the very time, that is to say, when it begins to do its proper work by laying hold upon the hearts and minds of men, mingling, as the leaven in the dough, with all that they contain, and unfolding and applying itself in the life and conduct of the individual, and in the laws, institutions, and usages of society.

* 'Dissertation,' &c., p. 117.

In the building up of the human temple, the several portions of the work, while sustaining and strengthening each other, confine each other also, like the stones of a wall, to their proper place and office in the fabric.

Divine truth contained in the Gospel, is addressed to the wants and uses of a nature not simple but manifold, and is manifold itself: though dependent upon one principle it consists of many parts, and in order to preserve reciprocally the due place and balance of those parts, means that we call human are available, as well as means more obviously divine; and secular forms and social influences, all adjusted by one and the same Governor of the world, are made to serve the purposes that have their highest expression in the Kingdom of Grace. The Gospel aims not at destroying this equilibrium, but at restoring it: and in the restoration it accepts, nay courts, and by natural law requires, the aid of secondary means.

It is manifest indeed that there was in Christianity that which man might easily and innocently carry into such an excess, as, though it would have ceased to be Christian, would not have ceased to seem so, and would under a sacred title have tended to impair the healthful and complete development of his being.

Rousseau* objects to the Christian system that it is opposed to social good order and prosperity, because it teaches a man to regard himself as a citizen of another world, and thus diverts him from

* Rousseau, ' Contrat Social,' b. iv., c. viii.

the performance of his duties as a member of civil society. "Far from attaching the hearts of the "citizens to the state, it detaches them from it, as "from all other earthly things. I know nothing "more opposed to the social spirit . . . . A society "of true Christians would no longer be a society of "men . . . . What matters it to be free or slave in "this vale of misery? The one thing needful is to "go to Paradise, and submission to calamity is an "additional means of getting there."

In an age and in a country such as this, it is not required, it is scarcely allowable, to seem to depreciate those various forms of self-restraint and self-conquest which the spirit of man, vexed in its sore conflict with the flesh and with the world, has in other times employed to establish the supremacy of the soul, by trampling upon sense and appetite and all corporal existence. Even in the time of the Apostles, it seems to have been manifest that a tendency to excess in this direction had begun to operate in the Christian Church. As time passed on, and as the spirit of the unrenewed world became more rampant within the sacred precinct, the reaction against it likewise grew more vehement and eager. The deserts of Egypt were peopled with thousands upon thousands of anchorites;* who forswore every human relation, extinguished every appetite, and absorbed every motive, every idea, every movement of our complex nature in the great but single function of the relation to the unseen world.† True and earnest in their

* Note XVII. † Note XVIII.

Christian warfare, they notwithstanding represent a spirit of exaggeration, which it was requisite to check, uprooting what they ought rather to have pruned, and destroying what they ought to have chastised, and mastered, and converted to purposes of good. That internecine war with sin, which is of the very essence of Christianity, seems to have been understood by them as a war against the whole visible and sensible world, against the intellectual life, against a great portion of their own normal nature: and though as regarded themselves, even their exaggeration was pardonable and in many respects a noble error, yet its unrestricted sway and extension would have left man a maimed, a stunted, a distorted creature. And it would have done more than this. By severing the Gospel from all else that is beautiful and glorious in creation, it would have exposed the spiritual teacher to a resistance not only vehement but just, and would have placed the kingdom of grace in permanent and hopeless discord with the kingdoms of nature, reason, truth, and beauty, kingdoms established by the very same Almighty Hand.

Those principles of repression, which were indispensable as the medicine of man, were unfit for his food. What was requisite, however, was not to expel them, and thereby to revert to the mental riot and the moral uncleanness of heathenism, but to check their usurpations, and to keep them within their bounds; and this was to be effected not by prohibition or disparagement, but by vindicating for every part, and power, and work, of human nature, and for

every office of life, its proper place in the Divine order and constitution of the world. The seed of this comprehensive philosophy was supplied by the words of the Apostle: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." * And so the solid and fruitful materials of the Greek civilisation came in aid, by a wise Providence, of the humanising principles and precepts of the Gospel, to assist in securing a well-balanced development of the powers of the Christian system, and to prevent the instruments designed for eradicating the seeds of disease from subverting the yet higher agencies appointed for the fostering and development of life in every region of our being and our activity.

Volumes might be written with profit to trace the application of the principles touched upon in this Address to the whole history of the Church, and of the Christian civilisation, down to the present day; and the more we said, the more there would remain to say. That which I have now attempted is no more, in effect, than a suggestion, which may open the way for others into a wide and ever-widening field. And if that suggestion be just it will be difficult to deny its importance. Let us glance in a few concluding words at some of its results.

First, it places on high and safe grounds that genial

* Phil. iv. 8.

primacy of the Greeks in letters and in human culture, to the acknowledgment of which Christian Europe has been guided not so much by a logical process, or a definite forethought, as by a sure instinct with the after confirmation of a long experience. Nor can this primacy be justly disturbed by the multiplication, and the energetic and growing pursuit, of those branches of knowledge for which this age has been so remarkable. For Aristotle it was excusable to regard the heavenly bodies as objects nobler than man. But Christianity has sealed and stamped the title of our race as the crown and flower of the visible creation: and with this irreversible sentence in their favour, the studies, well called studies of humanity, should not resent nor fear, but should favour and encourage all other noble research having for its object the globe on which we live, the tribes with which it is peopled in land, air, and sea, the powers drawn forth from nature or yet latent in her unexplored recesses, or the spaces of that vast system—

"Ultra flammantia mœnia mundi,"

to which our earth belongs.

But more than this: we live in times when the whole nature of our relation to the unseen world is widely, eagerly, and assiduously questioned. Sometimes we are told of general laws, so conceived as to be practically independent either of a Lawgiver or a Judge. Sometimes of a necessity working all things to uniform results, but seeming to crush and to bury under them the ruins of our will, our freedom, our

personal responsibility. Sometimes of a private judgment, which we are to hold upon the hard condition of taking nothing upon trust, of passing by, at the outset of our mental life, the whole preceding education of the world, of owning no debt to those who have gone before without a regular process of proof, in a word of beginning anew each man for himself: a privilege which I had thought was restricted to the lower orders of creation, where the parent infuses no prejudices into its litter or its fry. Such are the fancies which go abroad. Such are the clouds which career in heaven, and pass between us and the sun, and make men idly think, that what they see not, is not, and blot the prospects of what is in so many and such true respects a happy and a hopeful age. It is I think an observation of Saint Augustine, that those periods are critical and formidable, when the power of putting questions runs greatly in advance of the pains to answer them. Such appears to be the period in which we live. And all among us, who are called in any manner to move in the world of thought, may well ask who is sufficient for these things? Who can with just and firm hand sever the transitory from the durable, and the accidental from the essential, in old opinions? Who can combine, in the measures which reason would prescribe, reverence and gratitude to the past with a sense of the new claims, new means, new duties of the present? Who can be stout and earnest to do battle for the Truth, and yet hold sacred, as he ought, the freedom of inquiry, and cherish, as he

ought, a chivalry of controversy like the ancient chivalry of arms? One persuasion at least let us embrace: one error let us avoid. Let us be persuaded of this, that Christianity will by her inherent resources find for herself a philosophy equal to all the shifting and all the growing wants of the time. Let us avoid the error of seeking to cherish a Christianity of isolation. The Christianity which is now and hereafter to flourish, and, through its power in the inner circles of human thought, to influence ultimately, in some manner more adequate than now, the masses of mankind, must be such as of old the Wisdom of God was described.

"For in her is an understanding spirit, holy, one "only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, "not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good, "quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good, "kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care, having "all power, overseeing all things. . . .

"For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, "the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the "image of His goodness." *

It must be filled full with human and genial warmth, in close sympathy with every true instinct and need of man, regardful of the just titles of every faculty of his nature, apt to associate with and make its own all, under whatever name, which goes to enrich and enlarge the patrimony of the race. And therefore it is well that we should look out over the

* 'Wisdom of Solomon,' viii. 22, 23, 26.

field of history, and see if haply its records, the more they are unfolded, do or do not yield us new materials for the support of faith. Me at least, for one, experience has convinced that, just as fresh wonder and confirmed conviction flow from examining the structure of the universe and its countless inhabitants, and their respective adaptations to the purposes of their being and to the use of man, the same results will flow in yet larger measure from tracing the footmarks of the Most High in the seemingly bewildered paths of human history. Everywhere, before us, and behind us, and around us, and above us and beneath, we shall find the Power which—

> "Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent." *

And, together with the Power, we shall find the Goodness and the Wisdom, of which that sublime Power is but a minister. Nor can that wisdom and that goodness anywhere shine forth with purer splendour, than when the Divine forethought, working from afar, in many places, and through many generations, so adjusts beforehand the acts and the affairs of men, as to let them all converge upon a single point, upon that redemption of the world, by God made Man, in which all the rays of His glory are concentrated, and from which they pour forth a flood of healing light even over the darkest and saddest places of creation.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Professors, and Gentlemen, I

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* Pope's 'Essay on Man,' iv.

commend to your notice and your impartial research the subject of the foregoing remarks. It is at least a less unworthy offering than the mere commonplaces of taking leave. Yet I claim one remaining moment to convey to you my gratitude for your confidence, to assure you that I shall ever feel a lively interest in all that pertains to the welfare of your famous University, and to bid you respectfully farewell.

# NOTES.

## Note I., p. 12.

This appropriating power of the Greeks is well expressed in a passage quoted by Eusebius from Diodorus, who is describing the view taken of that power by the Egyptians (Præp. Evang. ii. 6) *καθόλου δέ φασι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξιδιάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Αἰγυπτίων ἥρωάς τε καὶ θεούς.*

## Note II., p. 12.

These sentiments are not only contained in particular passages of the 'Præparatio,' but run through the whole work. See for instance:

On the foreign origin of the Greek religion, B. i. 6, i. 10, ii. 1, and ii. 3. The Hellenic *μυθολογίαι κάτωθεν ὁρμῶνται*, iii. 4.

On the composition of the old religions, v. 3.

On the commendation of the Greek genius and the philosophers, i. 6 (*τά σεμνὰ τῆς γενναίας Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας*), i. 8, i. 10, xi. 1, and ii. 6 (*ὁ θαυμάσιος Πλάτων . . . . ὁ πάντων ἄριστος*), v. 33.

On the light of nature, ii. 6 (*φύσει καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις*), and elsewhere *φυσικαὶ ἔννοιαι.*

On the appropriations from the Hebrews, Books ix. and x.

## Note III., p. 13.

Celsus appears to have used the same imputation of being copyists against the Hebrews: and to have been confuted by Origen on account of the greater antiquity of the Jewish histories. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sac. ch. i. (vol. i. p. 16, Oxf. ed.)

## Note IV., p. 14.

Saint Augustine traced the prophecies of Christ in the Sibylline Books (De Civ. Dei, B. xviii. c. 23). Like the other Christian apologists, he commonly treats the heathen deities as real spirits of evil. He seems, in part, like Eusebius, to resolve the personages of the Greek and Roman Mythology into, 1. Men deified after

death, 2. Elements or Nature Powers, 3. Dæmones (De Civ. Dei., B. xviii. c. 14). He recognises divine aid given to the philosophers of Greece (de Civ. Dei, B. ii. c. 7): and in tracing the history of the two *Civitates*, the *Cœlestis*, and the *Terrestris*, he says (B. xvi. c. 10), that probably there were children of the former in the latter, as well as of the latter in the former.

## Note V., p. 22.

Mr. Grote remarks upon this anthropomorphic genius of the Hellenic religion, under the name of an universal "tendency to personification."—'History of Greece,' i. 462. Mr. Ruskin has some striking observations on the same subject.

## Note VI., p. 23.

Apollo. Mr. Max Müller says, in his most able work on 'Language,' vol. ii. p. 433, that Apollo drew to himself the worship of the Dorian family, Athenè of the Ionian, Poseidon of the Æolian, but that the worship of Zeus reached over all. I venture to doubt the accuracy of this classification. The Greek mythology was eminently favourable, as one of popular idolatry, to the development of particular local worships, and the preferences were much associated with race. But it would surprise me to see any proof that the worship of Apollo, or that of Athenè, was anything less than universal among the Greeks. The invaluable work of Pausanias, with its careful and patient enumerations, appears to form a conclusive standard of appeal on this subject.

On the character of Apollo, see C. O. Müller's 'Dorians,' Lewis and Tuffnell's translation, i. 329.

## Note VII., p. 25.

The word "jovial" appears to be one of that group of words, too little noticed, which have come into the English tongue direct from the Italian, and to abound in our old authors. It is explained by Johnson as meaning, 1. Under the influence of Jupiter, 2. Gay, airy, merry. But I do not find in any of our dictionaries or word-books which I have consulted any notice of what appears to be its *differentia*, and to make it reflect the idea of the Olympian life: namely, that in its proper use it does not mean merriment simply, but an elevated or royal kind of merriment. Thus Drayton speaks

of the "princely jovial fowl:" and the sense is exactly touched in a speech of Lear (Act iv., Scene 6)—

What?
I will be jovial: *come come, I am a king,*
My masters, know you that.

This distinctive flavour of the sense has been in part rubbed out: yet jovial is not even now synonymous with merry: we should more properly say jovial men, merry children, than *vice versâ*.

## Note VIII., p. 26.

It is worthy of remark, that in Homer the political life of man is reflected even as to some portion of its detail by the divine life. The institution of the βουλή, or council, was already well marked off from that of the ἀγορή, or Assembly. So the ordinary meeting on Olympus seems to be the βουλή, but this, which precedes the Theomachy, to correspond with the Assembly.

## Note IX., p. 29.

The Sun in the 'Iliad,' see Il. xviii.—

ἠέλιον δ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη·
πέμψεν ἐπ Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι.

Why being thus passive, and scarcely animate, is the planet represented as unwilling? The answer must be founded on conjecture. But I conceive it to be probably this. The Trojan worship seems to have been more elemental than the Greek: so the Sun was unwilling to cut short that famous day, which was to be the last day of prosperity to the Trojan arms.

In the 'Odyssey' we have no mention of the worship of the Sun by the Greeks: and when Eurupulos in Thrinakiè persuades his companions to slay the oxen of that deity for food, he says, "when we return to Ithaca, we can make him a rich temple and precinct, with abundant votive gifts" (Od. xii. 346).

πίονα νηὸν
τεύξομεν, ἐν δέ κε θεῖμεν ἀγάλματα παλλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά,

thus raising the inference that he had none already existing in that very small island.

## Note X., p. 29.

*On the Invocation of Rivers.*

It is probable that these may have been admitted more or less into purely local worship: Achilles in Troja not only invokes his

own Spercheios, but mentions his father's prayer and vow to offer an hecatomb to the stream, in the place where was its glebe and altar. In this class of cases, the anthropomorphic force of the Greek system showed itself by investing the rivers with human forms. Achelous, the most famous of them, fought against Herakles for Deianira, sought her hand, and had many other wives. Odysseus invokes the river in Corfu, but then he is in the sphere of the outer geography, and of a theology differing from the Greek. Asteropaios, a Pæonian hero, is grandson to the River Axios.

## Note XI., p. 30.

The single clear trace that I remember to have perceived in Homer of the elemental creed is this, that, in one single passage, he calls the sacrificial fire by the name of Hephaistos, the god of fire. Il. ii. 426.

## Note XII., p. 37.

On this subject, as a testimony *instar omnium*, see the passage in Aristophanes Νεφ. 1087-1100.

## Note XIII., p. 37.

"Philippus of Crotona was actually deified by the inhabitants of Segeste, and had sacrifices offered to him in his lifetime on account of his beauty. Cypselus instituted prizes for beauty: while such was the honour conferred by its possession, that Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, did not hesitate to sit as model to Polygnotus."—Falkener's 'Dædalus,' p. 33, note.

## Note XIV., p. 38.

On the contrary, in the Clouds, v. 540, Aristophanes takes credit to himself because his play made no jest upon baldness—

οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλάκρους,

and this is believed to be a rebuke to Eupolis for having condescended to ridicule Aristophanes himself on the score of baldness (Mitchell in loc.). The conclusion I have stated in the text as to caricature, seems to me, on the whole, to be supported by the collection of instances in the work of Champfleury. On the use of caricature for religion, see Lecky's 'Rationalism,' vol. ii., p. 1.

## Note XV., p. 45.

The Zeus of Phidias at Olympia is stated to have been sixty feet high, and the Athene of the Parthenon forty.—Falkener's 'Dædalus,' p. 94.

## Note XVI., p. 57.

It has been, perhaps, too little noticed that the expedition of Alexander, by carrying not only the political, but especially the intellectual, dominion of Greece through the East, was no less signally a Preparation for the Gospel than was the growth of the Roman Power, which placed the civilised world under the sway of a single sceptre (S. Aug. De Civ. Dei, B. xviii. c. 22). The dissolution of Alexander's empire after his death has made us take for a short-lived, meteor-like phenomenon, what really was a great work, with results not less permanent than wide-spread. Its importance reached a climax in the Translation of the Jewish Scriptures executed by the Seventy.

## Note XVII., p. 61.

Vividly described by Lecky, 'Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe,' vol. ii. p. 28. The same principle runs through Church History: as where the admirable Mère Marie-Angélique Arnauld describes the Infirmaries in her convent as "basses et humides comme des caves," making the nuns ill, and yet "cela ne les dégoutoit point. Dieu nous en envoya plusieurs." (Relations du Port Royal, p. 30.)

## Note XVIII., p. 61.

Saint Augustine says of the body, *ad ipsam naturam hominis pectinet* (De Civ. Dei, i. 13). Eusebius in his account of the Hebrew religion shows a tendency to depreciate this constituent part of man, when he relates that they viewed it simply as a space for the soul to dwell in (τὸ δὲ, τοῦτον χώραν περιβολῆς ἐπέχειν), and says all bodily pleasures are no higher than those of the brute creation (B. v. c. 4). Saint Augustine had felt deeply the influence of the Greek philosophy, and hence perhaps it is that with his warmly-coloured views he combined so much breadth of conception.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

# SPEECHES

OF THE RIGHT HON.

# W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

DELIVERED AT

WARRINGTON, ORMSKIRK, LIVERPOOL, SOUTHPORT,

NEWTON, LEIGH, AND WIGAN,

IN OCTOBER, 1868.

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LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & Co. KENT & Co.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

LONDON:
ROBERT K. BURT, PRINTER, WINE OFFICE COURT, E.C.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# TOWN HALL, WARRINGTON.

OCTOBER 12TH, 1868.

MR. RIGBY and gentlemen, together with my friend, and I hope I may say my future colleague, Mr. Grenfell,—I have met to-day with such a reception in Warrington as I am quite certain that neither of us will readily forget. We are aware, gentlemen, that within the limits of the borough a contest is in progress of no ordinary interest to you all, and with respect to which, though it would be unbecoming in me to dwell upon it particularly, I cannot but express the confident and sanguine belief that some five weeks—five short weeks—from the time at which I now have the honour to address you, will see the town of Warrington represented after the manner of our Constitution in the British House of Commons by the free votes of the people, and in the person of my friend Mr. Rylands. But, gentlemen, the duty which, in conjunction with Mr. Grenfell, I have to perform to-night is to address you in respect to the election for the south-western division of the county. And perhaps, gentlemen, I may be permitted to begin by stating that, as a matter of fact, the contest in which Lancashire men are now engaged with Lancashire men is not a contest of our seeking. The history of its origin is this. As you are aware, the southern division of the county is at present represented by two supporters of the present Administration, together with myself. Well, I think that is a distribution to which at least the supporters of the Government—a minority of the House of Commons—have no great reason to complain. However, in the exercise of their wisdom, or else of their zeal, our opponents early in the present year began to take measures for the modest purpose of securing to themselves the whole of the county

representation in this division; and you, gentlemen, who are electors and of Liberal opinions are to answer whether you will submit to this exclusion which was attempted to be enforced. Perhaps you will ask me how it was attempted, and there is no difficulty in the answer. It was not attempted to affect your opinion or even to appeal to your prejudices. It was attempted in a manner which it is easy to understand. It was attempted by that most ingenious but frequently effectual method of clubbing together to make a long purse. That being so, the Liberal party in this division adopted such precautionary measures as appeared to be justified for the purpose of ascertaining its sentiments, and came to the conclusion, first, that they would not submit to be excluded from the representation, and, secondly, to accept the challenge which they gave, and to seek to return to Parliament two representatives of Liberal opinions for the county. Well, the campaign is to begin to-day. It is not the 12th of August, a day fatal to many of our fellow-creatures; but it is the 12th of October, a day on which we set out for a season in which I believe our motives are at least as elevated as the motives of those who commonly take to the moor on the 12th of August, and in which, I must add, that our sport will be quite as good. We are in for it now, and we must go through with it. I agree with the resolution which characterises the men of England, and, not least, the men of Lancashire. We ought to consider questions of public interest with a determination in no instance wilfully to misconstrue our adversaries' intentions or their acts, but with a firm determination to beat them if we can. The war to be carried on this evening is a war of argument, and I rejoice to think that we have arrived at a period when the masses of the people of this country are supplied, through the inestimable machinery of the daily press, and, above all, of the cheap press, with the means of bringing an enlightened judgment to bear upon questions of public interest and policy. I cannot depart from this subject without observing that the establishment of the cheap press was not secured without a struggle, and that we who stand here upon this platform are the representatives in our humble sphere of those who procured for the people that inestimable benefit. It was, gentlemen, by many efforts in the front both of enemies and of half-hearted friends; it was in the front, I am sorry to say, of the misguided action of the hereditary branch of the Legislature, that those of us who were determined to set free the press of this country, persevered in our purpose, and obtained for the country the enormous advantage which they now derive from having brought to their doors from day to day information upon public affairs, which, although it is not in every instance infallible, yet contains within itself the secret and means of the cure of this defect, because it is, though not infallible, yet free; and the errors of opinion which proceed from one quarter are corrected by the more just judgment of another. Well, gentlemen, that is the footing upon which we meet, so far as regards your means of information; and we meet likewise, as I am rejoiced to think, upon a ground in which the borough franchise to a very large extent, and in which the county franchise to some considerable extent, now stands upon a basis wider than that upon which it stood when I last had the honour to submit my claims to the constituency of Lancashire. Gentlemen, it would not be unnatural if I were to presume to detain you upon the subject of the important change which has occurred in our Parliamentary constitution. It

would not be unnatural even on account of the moment and the extent o that change. There would still be more cause for it on account of another circumstance less satisfactory—I mean, the particular provisions of the Act for amending the representation of the people, which I must say have been perversely and wilfully so constructed as to impose upon the people, together with the benefits of the franchise, a fine upon its exercise, to which I have objected from the first moment when it was named, and which I, for my part, shall be earnestly desirous to take the first opportunity of effacing from the statute-book of England. For the present, gentlemen, I won't detain you further on that subject, which is one that might open out into a multitude of details, because, in truth, we live in times when so many and such pregnant matters of public interest solicit our attention that we must be content to take them one by one, and endeavour to present each in turn in a clear and open light to the public mind. I think thus we shall probably best be enabled to contribute, so far as in us lies, to your exercising a right judgment upon the coming occasion. Of the great questions that are now before us, that which meets me, after the question of Parliamentary Reform, is that of the public expenditure of the country. I have, gentlemen, notwithstanding the crowded state of this assemblage, your patient attention; and I think it probable that I have the honour of addressing to-night, along with a large body of the electors for the county, a large number also of the electors for the town. The subject of public expenditure is one of great and standing importance. Other questions come and go, but this is a question that always abides. It is a question that sometimes comes into the very first place, and absorbs the attention of all men; but when it does so it is commonly because the evils have become too profound and too inveterate to admit of easy cure, and the true wisdom on all political subjects, but especially with regard to finance and public expenditure, is to direct the mind of the country to the consideration of them at a time before mischief has attained to unmanageable dimensions, in order that, if possible, a remedy, and an effective remedy, may be applied. This is the condition in which we now stand with reference to finance and to the expenditure of the country. I ventured about six weeks or two months ago to call attention to this subject in a meeting at St. Helen's. I stated with great moderation of language that of which I do not intend to qualify or retract one single iota. I intend, on the contrary, both to corroborate and enlarge the assertions I then made; but I did then state that within the two years during which the present Government had been in office the sum of £3,000,000 had been added to the permanent expenditure of the country. Now, I did not lay the exclusive blame of that augmentation upon the existing Administration, and the reason that I did not lay upon them the exclusive blame is that, as an observer of public affairs within and without the walls of the House of Commons, I cannot but be sensible of these two truths—in the first place, that the people are the natural defenders of their own purses; and, in the second place, that the vigilance and watchfulness with which the public mind has at some periods been directed to the control of the public expenditure have of late years been very greatly relaxed. You may think that is a reproach to you. You may think it a reproach which comes from one who has no right to make it. Gentlemen, your true friend is the man who speaks openly the sentiments of his mind

and his heart. I dare tell you this, that no Government, however well disposed, will at any time be able to keep the expenditure within moderate bounds unless backed up by the constant and unsleeping vigilance of public opinion. You will ask me, perhaps, why is this? I will tell you in one sentence. It is because there are knots and groups, and I may say classes, who have a constant and unsleeping interest in feeding themselves on the produce of the public industry. The counterpoise to this perfectly natural tendency on the part of individuals and classes is the vigilance of the public mind. The present Government goes to sleep; the other power never goes to sleep. On the contrary, it is watching for every opportunity to improve its position. And unfortunately there is an unhappy circumstance affecting the condition of the public servants. When men in private life improve their position, whether in commerce or manufacture, whether they improve the produce of the soil or the mines, they improve the position of all other classes; but, unhappily, when those who have an interest in the public service improve their own position they do so—and I do not see how the difficulty is to be avoided—rather with reference to their own interest than the advantage of the public. I do not say this for the purpose of fixing a stigma on the present Government. It has been my happy fortune to know in the public service men who have rendered labours to the public and have served the State with a spirit as disinterested and honourable to their station of life as any other class of men. It is the nature of the case that the public service should seek to improve its position, and that this improvement must take the form of an addition to the public burdens. I do not hesitate to say that the present Government has been slack, and I do not presume to impute the whole of the blame to them, but having said this much I will proceed to point out the blame which attaches to the present Government, and it is for you to say whether that description is fair or not. I ask you, gentlemen, something more. When I had the honour of addressing the electors of St. Helen's, and of laying before them the state of the case in very few and brief words in respect to the public expenditure, I went the length of suggesting to them—I hope it was not disrespectful—that they should ask our opponents, our honourable and respected opponents, Mr. Cross and Mr. Turner, what they thought of the matter, because Mr. Cross and Mr. Turner request you to return them to Parliament to support the men by whom this augmentation has been brought about; therefore I think it is a very serious matter that they should be prepared to justify to you that which has been done. It was with the greatest satisfaction I perceived that the public mind was ripe for receiving a statement of that kind, and that the arrow I ventured to discharge from the bow appeared to have gone home. It will not be my fault, gentlemen, if that discussion is stifled or suppressed. I wish to extend it and enlarge it. I don't wish to escape from blame. If you think the Liberal party has been to blame, let it by all means be laid upon us. The object really in view is that the public should receive advantage, and I presume to tell you this—the public have received advantage already. I presume upon a prophecy—let the elections go exactly in that way, in which we don't think they will go; let them result in the return of a triumphant majority on behalf of the present Government, still, gentlemen, I will venture to tell you that if you keep alive this question of the public expenditure—that fatal progression which has been established for the last

two or three years in the amount of the charges for the different branches of the public service—unless some great calamity should happen—which God forbid—I venture now on the 12th of October to tell you, you will have no increase of the estimates next year. I know that Mr. Cross, your neighbour, is a man not only of high character, but of great intelligence, and not only of great intelligence, but of great practical experience, particularly in those matters which relate to the management of pounds, shillings, and pence. It was, therefore, with a peculiar satisfaction that I observed that almost immediately after the meeting at St. Helen's the mind of Mr. Cross appeared to have been impressed with observations that had dropped at that meeting, and that he had addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer a letter on the subject of the increase of the public expenditure. I am so much pleased and so much encouraged by the circumstance that Mr. Cross should thus have taken the matter so to heart, and addressed a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, moreover, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have answered that letter, and, not only this, but that the private and personal feelings thus gracefully expressed between these two gentlemen should have become part of the public property by being printed in all the journals of the country—why, gentlemen, after this you cannot be surprised if I tell you fairly that I mean to persevere in the same course, and I mean to find for Mr. Cross, if I can, the materials of another letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I have not the least doubt that if Mr. Cross faithfully transmits queries that I will endeavour to put into his mouth, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find sufficient occasion for another reply to Mr. Cross. Gentlemen, my charge against the present Government is this, I did not do to them what their followers in the country did to us. I did not mix up with their estimates for the ordinary services of the country demands arising out of the wars that had to be carried on in this or that quarter of the globe, but, carefully separating every item that the most impartial or the most friendly judge could have desired to see excluded, I showed that the charges for the ordinary service of the country had been raised by three millions during the time for which the present Government had held office. Since that a great number of placards have been published, and I believe that I have got a very complete collection of them, but it does not require that I should trouble you with the whole of them. One is just like the other; they contain exactly the same misrepresentations—misrepresentations which I am quite certain have proceeded from nothing but the grossest and most absolute ignorance of the whole affair, because unless I were to interpose that charitable supposition I should be driven to a statement far more painful—namely, that the authors of these placards had not that minute and superlative regard for truth by which, after all, it is desirable that we should be governed in public as well as in private life. Various answers have been made to the statement that £3,000,000 had been added to the ordinary expenditure of the country, and that the present Government were in the main responsible for that charge. Let me consider what these answers are. One of the answers is a very peculiar one, and it is the one to which I will first refer, for it is to the fact that in former times, eight or ten years ago, and 15 and 20 years ago, the Conservative party were very economical, and the Liberals very extravagant. Suppose that were true,

would that mend the matter? If those who were formerly extravagant have become parsimonious, is it for you to refuse them the place of repentance? and if those who were formerly economical have become prodigal, is it for you to be prevented from awarding to them the sentence deserved by their guilt? It seems to me that this answer does not mend the matter in the least. It is wholly irrelevant. If the Liberal party really were in former times the advocates of extravagance, and have now become the advocates of parsimony, I can prove that by our recent conduct there is no reason why they should turn from us. Therefore the answer is wholly irrelevant even if it were true; but in addition to being irrelevant it is totally untrue. Let me take the points, and take them out of one of their own placards—a placard in Welsh and English. I hope the Welsh one is the same as the English, but I cannot say positively. In this placard there is a discussion upon the Income-tax, and it is stated that Lord Derby left the Income-tax at 5d. in the pound, and that Mr. Gladstone raised it to 7d. It is true that Lord Derby left the Income-tax at 5d. for his successors, but he never had the Income-tax at 5d. for himself. Now, if you will bear with me for a few moments I will give you the explanation. The placard says that in 1859, under the Government of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, the Income-tax was 5d. in the pound. It is true that the law said 5d. in the pound, but how was the Income-tax then levied? You know that what you are charged on the Income-tax you are charged on profits for the previous year, and during the first half of that year that which is called 5d. in the pound was levied, and the Conservative Government received the produce not at 5d. in the pound, but at 7d. This statement which has been put forth is one of those instances which we may charitably construe as gross ignorance, and if we do not we must construe it as nothing less than downright falsehood. Another ingenious method that was resorted to was this. There is a long list of years of Income-tax, beginning at 7d., and going through various figures, and ending, in 1864-1865, at 6d. in the pound, but forgetting there was such a year as 1865-6, in which we were able honestly to reduce the Income-Tax to 4d.—I say honestly to reduce it—in consequence of the growth of the public revenue and of thrift in the public expenditure. But I go to that which is more relied upon. It is said that in 1858-9 we had low Estimates under a Conservative Government; that in 1859-60 we had high Estimates under a Liberal Government; and in 1860-1 we had Estimates on a higher scale. I must say a few words on each of these three points. It is perfectly true that in 1858-9 you had low Estimates, and I ask you who proposed those Estimates? Why, the Liberal Government. In the case of a country of this kind, with an expenditure of £70,000,000, which amounts to one-tenth or one-eighth part of the whole permanent income of the country, it cannot be regulated from hour to hour, from week to week. All plans relating to the public charge must be prepared and organised months before they are put into execution. The Estimates of 1858-9 were prepared by the Government of Lord Palmerston. I did not belong to that Government. I objected to many things that it did. What did the Conservative Government do when they came in? On the 11th of February, 1858, the Government of Lord Palmerston laid on the table Army Estimates amounting to £11,538,000. The charge for the Militia, £432,000, must be

added, making £11,970,000. That was shortly after the Liberal Government went out. When the Conservative Government came in I heard with great satisfaction the Budget of Mr. Disraeli. He proposed to reduce that sum of £11,970,000 to £11,750,000—a reduction of £200,000. Sudden reductions are too often questioned in cases of this kind. Public faith and honour must be kept, our soldiers must be paid, contracts must be fulfilled. Now, what was the end of the proposed reduction? The expenditure was increased to £12,512,000. Now, that's a matter of fact to which I invite your attention, and the attention of Mr. Cross, and the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There was a saving of £288,000 in the Naval Estimates of the year, but the Army expenditure exceeded the Estimates by more than £400,000 which we had to account for, and ask the House of Commons to vote in 1860. So far as regards the expenditure of 1858-9, the Estimates were in the main the Estimates of a Liberal Government. The Conservative Government, when they came into power, proposed somewhat to reduce them, but instead of doing so, we found they had increased them. So much for that year. Now comes, gentlemen, the year 1859-60, and in that year there was a great increase of expenditure which can hardly have escaped the memory of any of those who paid attention to such matters. In 1858-9 the expenditure had been £64,800,000; in 1859-60 the expenditure rose to £69,600,000—it rose, that is to say, by £4,800,000, and that, it is said, is the work of a Liberal Government. Now, I do not at all claim for the Liberal Government any exemption from this responsibility. They came into office, when?—At the end of the month of June, 1859. They proposed to Parliament the Estimates which they found made ready for them. The Estimates imposing the extension to £5,000,000 in the expenditure were the Estimates prepared by the Conservative Government, and not only that, they were Estimates of which a great deal of the money had been voted and actually spent, because the financial year of this country begins on the 1st of April, and it was not until the month of July that a Liberal Government had an opportunity of considering the state of the expenditure of the year. Now, I ask you whether it is not the height of hardihood or of ignorance for the adherents of a party who prepared those Estimates in the winter and in the course of the spring, and who spent a great deal of money, so that it was totally irrecoverable, to lay upon us the sole responsibility of the increase which then occurred in the public expenditure? Gentlemen, the augmentation was a very great augmentation, and it was followed by another augmentation in the year 1860, and of that also the responsibility is laid upon us by the opposite party. Now, listen to a plain tale and a short one. We came into office at the end of June, 1859. At the end of June, 1859, Lord Elgin arrived at the mouth of the Peiho in China to sign a treaty of peace with the Emperor of China, and, under the wise instructions of the Conservative Government, he went to sign this treaty of peace with a large fleet to help him to guide the pen. The Chinese did not understand the method of guiding a pen by a fleet, and thought that the Ambassador might do it himself. The consequence was they laid a sort of ambuscade for our fleet. A great disaster happened under the instructions of the Government of Lord Derby, and before we had been ten days or a fortnight in office we found—not that we found it when we had been ten days or a fortnight in office, but before we had been ten days or a

fortnight in office events had happened at the other side of the world which launched us in another war with China, under the instructions of the Government of Lord Derby, and that war cost us in the year 1860-61 at the very least from four to five millions of money. And now, in answer to an attack of mine in which I have carefully separated the cost of the Abyssinian war from the rest of the expenditure, those scribes who support this Government go back upon the Chinese war, due not to us, but to them, the fruit entirely of their policy and of their instructions, and put the charge which that war entailed before the country as a proof of our extravagance. Gentlemen, that, I think, is a proceeding which I certainly hope never to be guilty of, and I trust that no man in this room, however warm his feelings of partisanship may be, ever will allow himself so grossly to violate the rules of fairness and decency. And it is upon these statements, and statements like these, that those computations are made out and placarded in the country, sometimes in the letters which you see here, sometimes in letters a great deal larger, saying that the Radicals forsooth—Lord Palmerston was a Radical!—that the Radicals have spent £5,000,000 in the year more than the Conservatives. Gentlemen, a very serious question in the minds of many is whether the expenditure of those years was warranted by the circumstances. I have not in the slightest degree shrunk from telling you that in 1859 we accepted the responsibility of proposing the estimates that had been prepared, and providing the money that had been spent in a considerable part by our predecessors in 1860. We had taken upon our shoulders the Chinese war which they had brought about by their policy. Now, gentlemen, this is a very serious question; but again, I go back to the point. It is impossible for an Administration to limit the expenditure if the country is set upon it. I believe I am disposed to go as far as most men in matters of thrift. But I am not disposed to say whether if I was Chancellor of the Exchequer I should think it my duty to set my individual will against the will of the whole country with regard to the question whether two or three millions more should be spent in a particular year. What you have a right to expect from a Government is this, that it shall sedulously strive to keep down the public expenditure, and that it shall never run in advance of the public feelings and of the public wants; but more than that I think you hardly can expect. But now, gentlemen, what was our case? I am now going to make a very serious and deliberate charge. I will tell you what our case was. It was this—that great as was the expenditure of 1859, great as was the expenditure of 1860 great as was the expenditure of 1861, it was only by the utmost efforts and the most desperate struggles that we kept down the expenditure where it stood, in consequence of the constant and persevering efforts of a large portion of the Opposition, and of many leaders of the Opposition, and of many men who are now Ministers of State, to compel us to spend more public money. Now, gentlemen, that is not a charge which a man ought to make without being able to support it. I will support it. I invite to it the attention of Mr. Cross, I invite to it the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I say deliberately that throughout the Government of Lord Palmerston large portions of the Opposition never desisted by its leaders in compelling the Government to spend more money. I say that, on the contrary, during the period of administration of Lord Derby and

Mr. Disraeli, instead of the Opposition endeavouring to stimulate the Government in the matter of expenditure, we did the little we could to check them and control them in that course. Now, gentlemen, when you see and hear these statements about the economy of the Conservative Government as it is called—though I do not think it is Conservative myself—in former years, you would suppose they had done their best to restrain it, or at all events, that they had remained silent in the matter. You never would dream that they had endeavoured to force it to a point beyond which it actually reached. Now, there is a mode by which this matter may be brought to a statistic test. There are three ways in which opinions are promoted and forced forward in the House of Commons; the one is by division, and of course you will understand that those who divide in favour of a motion for expenditure help to press forward expenditure; another way is by motions, which have very often great influence even though they be not pressed to a division; and another way is found in a very harmless operation as it looks, but I may tell you it is sometimes a rather invidious act, that you may often have noticed reported in the newspapers. You will see before the solid business of the evening commences a number of gentlemen frequently get up in the House of Commons and ask this Minister and that Minister what he is going to do on a particular subject—"Mr. So-and-so to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will consent to increase the salaries of the Post-office sorters and letter-carriers in such-and-such a borough;" "Mr. So-and-so to call the attention of the House to the case of the Colonels of such-and-such regiments which have been placed in such-and-such a position of disadvantage;" "Mr. So-and-so to move for a committee on the pay of naval captains." These are questions which are multiplied in an indefinite number of forms. Now, I say this—and the Government have the means of doing it if they like—let them reckon up throughout the Parliament of 1859-1865, all the questions which were put with a view of increasing the expenditure; let them reckon up all the motions that were made with the view of increasing expenditure, and let them reckon up all the divisions that were taken with a view of increasing the expenditure; let them see by whom those questions were put, by whom those motions were made, and who voted in those divisions. Now, that is a fair test—let Mr. Cross make that proposal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would have nothing to do but to set a couple of clerks to work, and in three days they would do it. I do not say that we of the Liberal party are wholly exempt—far from it; but the effect would be that you would find three-fourths, or perhaps nine-tenths, of those proceedings in endeavouring to force the Government into a higher expenditure proceeded from the Conservative party when sitting upon the benches of Opposition. And they may understand that I am not speaking without book. I will give you two particular instances. It so happens that they are instances in which the motion, I believe, was made by gentlemen who sat on the Liberal side of the House, but that is immaterial to my purpose. I want to test the disposition of the Conservative Government—of that kind of Government which you are asked to support, by returning to Parliament men who will support it. The year 1859, it seems, was a year in which the tender consciences of the supporters of the present Government were terribly scandalised on account of the

greatly increased expenditure. There was at that time a most formidable question afloat—a question connected with the proposal to create fortifications for the defence of the great arsenals of this country. We desired to appoint a commission to inquire into the necessity for these fortifications, and into the manner in which, if they were to be erected, they could be erected with the greatest advantage, and at the smallest cost. But the House of Commons were so fervent in their desire to have these fortifications, that they would not endure the delay entailed by a commission. They required that we should proceed at once. This motion was made on the 29th of July :—"That the expense of completing the necessary works of national defence should be met by a fund specially provided for that purpose." That meant by a public loan, and independent of the votes of Parliament. You see how the declaration of that act launched by the House of Commons—that it was ready to borrow money to any extent, would have tended to increase the expenditure. The Government resisted the motion, and it was defeated by 167 votes to 70, but in the minority which voted for the motion I see the names of six members of the present Government, who wanted at that very time, when the expenditure had been so much enlarged, to force us into a loan. The six members of the present Government who voted for the motion contained two members of the present Cabinet, Lord John Manners and Sir John Pakington, the latter of whom has been one of the gentlemen most connected with the spending departments of the country, and he has shown as liberal a disposition—if it be the true essence of Liberalism to tap the pockets of the tax-payers of this country—as any Minister I have ever known. But this was not only in relation to matters of war, it was shown in matters of peace also. Did you ever hear of the plan for erecting harbours of refuge? Perhaps not; because most of those harbours were to have been on the eastern side of the country. But there was such a plan, and it was proposed to spend, I think, in the first instance, £5,000,000 of money, out of which two-thirds were to be at the cost of the Exchequer, and the other third was to be lent by the Exchequer. It was a scheme which could not have failed to cost £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 to the country. Now, what did Lord Palmerston do in those days of high expenditure? We set ourselves firmly against that scheme, and this motion was made in the House of Commons on the 19th of June, 1860 :—"That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to adopt at the earliest possible period the necessary measures to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed in 1858 to inquire into the formation of harbours of refuge on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland." Observe the character of that motion. It was a motion that contemplated at the very outset the spending of several millions of public money, and the lending of some millions more; and, from what we know of the nature of that irresponsible expenditure, we may be certain that amount of five millions would have been doubled or trebled before it was over. Nine members of the present Government voted for the motion, but I will only give you the names of those who are in the present Cabinet, for they are entitled to that distinction. There were three who are now Cabinet Ministers who voted for that motion—Lord Stanley, our friend Sir John Pakington, and the present guardian of the public finances, Mr. Ward Hunt. They voted for an address in

the House of Commons to compel the Government to spend this money, but the Government did one of the greatest things on behalf of public economy that I have ever known done. The motion was made, as I have told you, and I regret to say it was carried by 145 to 128, so that the House of Commons addressed the Crown to have harbours of refuge made, but the Government of Lord Palmerston, to his great credit, refused to act upon that address of the House of Commons. There is another portion of this question to which I must briefly allude, reserving my right to go into it more fully on some other occasion. Still, I may say a few words on the present occasion; but I have, as it were, archæologically and in an antiquarian spirit, to relate the acts of former Governments simply for this reason—that our opponents have not been able to say anything on the present issue, but have been obliged to disinter and disembody questions which in all practical reality are bygones. Now, I come back to the charge, and I repeat it, that the Government has added to the present permanent expenditure of the country a sum of three millions, without taking into account one farthing for the money expended for the Abyssinian war. Now, I must say a word on this subject of the expenditure on the Abyssinian war. I believe the estimate was that it would cost £5,000,000. That was made in the month of April or May, when the war was practically at a close, and the whole expenditure ought to have been accurately known if there had been no gross blundering or negligence. I can only hope that the Government has told us the whole truth, and that we know the real estimate of the expenditure of that war. But I am told that we shall have another bill to pay. I will not treat as a fact that which I do not know to be a fact; but if it be the truth the present Government has incurred a most enormous and a most serious responsibility. But the three millions are supposed to be divided as follows:—£1,400,000 for the army, £600,000 for the navy, and £1,000,000 for the civil service. You will soon have most ingenious efforts to draw away the attention of the public from the real question by seeking to show that the public services of the country are inefficient—that is, the naval and military services are in an inefficient state, and that money must be spent to make them efficient. There is nothing that you ought to be more upon your guard against than the alleged inefficiency of the public service. It is in itself a good plea, but in the mouth of a Government which wants to find an excuse for a great increase of the public expenditure, it is a plea not to be admitted without a great deal of careful scrutiny. I will tell you the result of some of my experience. When the Government wishes to raise money it is invariably done by saying that the public service is inefficient, that the money is spent; and the next thing declared is that the public service has at last been made efficient. It would be well if this ended here. But somebody else comes in, who declares the public service again inefficient, and the money is again spent. The same process goes on time after time, the public is utterly bewildered, and at last arrives at the only certainty in the whole matter—a large augmentation of the public charges. I have heard that the troops have been badly armed for the last five years; that the late Government did not finish the contracts for iron-plated ships, improved artillery, and small arms. The late Government, feeling that a vast expenditure had been uselessly incurred for iron-plated ships and improved arms, the last pattern being superseded by something superior before it was

even served out, determined to proceed cautiously, and not rashly, to incur a vast expenditure, as the present Government have done on the latest new invention. The lesson we taught was to proceed with moderation. Some have heard a great deal said about the addition of £500,000 to the public charges, in order to give an additional 2d. a day to the pay of the soldier. Gentlemen, I do not say that too much has been done. On the contrary, I am by no means of that opinion, but I do mean to say that all that has been done might have been done at much less cost to the country. But what is the defence urged by the Government? They say that we ought to object;—but when the Executive Government of the Crown proposed an increase of pay to the army, it was impossible for any Opposition to step in and say no. No one who considers in the slightest degree the relation between the Executive Government and the army, and the right which the army has to rely on the promises and determination of the Executive, will fail to see that the judgment of the Executive Government was perfectly conclusive when such a proposal was made, and as they were entitled to its merits, so, in consequence, they must bear its responsibility. Let me give you another instance—they built a number of ships, and they said that what were called reliefs, and were intended to take the place of other vessels on distant stations, were in an unsatisfactory and inefficient state, and that it was necessary to put the country to a great charge to build more of them. We endeavoured to stop this measure in the House of Commons and failed. We could not bring the House of Commons to see the folly of this policy. If you are to have a real retrenchment in your Navy Estimates you must have it by a great modification of that antiquated system of keeping fleets all over the world, by means of these reliefs, as they are called, or by a multitude of wooden ships, which would be almost entirely useless for the defence of the country. Therefore I at once say that the money had better, perhaps, have been thrown into the sea; but for the expenditure of it I hold no one responsible but the Government. It is quite true that the House of Commons declined to stop the Government in its career, but the House of Commons is a body which had during last Session particularly, and during the Session before, the greatest difficulties to contend with in dealing with the Government. It has been compelled to meet the Government at every turn for the purpose of changing its bad proposals into good ones. But you must not expect too much from the House of Commons. This is, I think, all I need state to you with regard to these subjects, except that I will sum it up in one sentence, and I will tell you this. You observe there is a million in civil expenditure that has been added. Now, I know very well that the case set up by the adherents of the Government will be that there were new wants that required to be met. Who supposes that in a country which expends £65,000,000 every year—it is now, I am sorry to say, beyond £70,000,000—who supposes that you can estimate down to every farthing of your expenditure? You cannot stereotype the wants of a great empire. New wants are always coming forward, but where there are new wants, and provision is made for them, that provision ought to be counterbalanced by new economies. What has been done by the present Government? I affirm this, that they have adopted with regard to the civil expenditure a system to which was once applied in a different sense a phrase which is

a very expressive one—a system of making things pleasant all round. How do you understand that? You understand that everywhere there are demands on the public purse, and a great deal of trouble and unpopularity to be escaped, and a great deal of political influence to be obtained in local towns by making things pleasant all round. I affirm this, that before the Government had been in office one month it commenced its career of granting requests which we had refused, of undoing and reversing decisions to which we had come in the interests of the public purse, and of substituting for them other decisions, at an increase of the public charge. I will give you but one instance of the way in which this works. I read it in the address of a candidate—I will not say where; but there is no doubt about the facts, for they are a matter of public notoriety. The Government had advanced £20,000 for the purpose of carrying out a public work at the time of this election. A candidate comes forward in the interests of the Government, and he states that in the time of the Government of Earl Russell or Lord Palmerston—I forget which—he proposed that the State should surrender that debt of £20,000 upon receiving the sum of £2,500. That proposal, he said, was opposed by the Liberal Government, and he could not carry it; but when a Conservative Government came in, they agreed to it. That, I think, is an instance of making all things pleasant. The candidate pleads the sacrifice which the Government had made of public money as a reason why the constituency should return him to Parliament. If you meditate upon this little matter, I think you will find it full of useful information, and it may convince you that it arises out of a system of a very liberal administration of the public funds and a contempt of small, niggardly and unworthy saving.

There is another question which cannot be overlooked—I mean the question of the Irish Church. I endeavoured on a former occasion at St. Helen's to express this opinion, which I am confident is founded on fact, that the question respecting the Irish Church as it stood during the last Session was really, whether in Ireland you would adopt our proposal and our policy under the circumstances of the country, and have no Church Establishment, or whether you would have three or four. It was necessary to point out that those who were responsible for the government of Ireland agreed with us in the opinion that we could not stand as we were, and they have proposed a plan, against which we have proposed ours. Many of you probably, and a considerable number of the people who are Protestant, feel opposed in conscience to the payment of the grant to Maynooth College, and many who are Roman Catholics may feel not less aggrieved at the payment of the sum of £40,000 to the Presbyterians under the name of *Regium Donum*. What is the meaning of these two grants? They are the buttresses of the Irish National Church. The Irish Church is such a contradiction of all the principles on which Church Establishments ever have been founded and recommended, and of all the feelings of the country, and I may say of the common sense of men and the judgment of the civilised world, that it is impossible to get it tolerated except upon conditions, and therefore the policy of those who desire its continuance has been to maintain and to multiply these grants which I have called the buttresses of the Irish Church; but it was felt that Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* were

not enough, and that there must be some more of those buttresses, for the wall was weak, and was beginning to bulge horribly outwards, so that there was a fear that it would fall. Therefore a new buttress was devised in the shape of a foundation of a Roman Catholic University, and a second one — viz., the increase of the *Regium Donum*. In the House of Commons I read a letter, written by the authority of Lord Derby in the year 1867, with respect to the increase of the *Regium Donum*, in which he said that he was extremely sorry it was too late to do anything that year, but when the Estimates for the next year were framed the matter would be considered, which is understood to mean that the prayer would be granted. I read that letter in the House of Commons. The First Minister of the Crown, the present Prime Minister, said that he was not in any manner bound by what was done by the Government of Lord Derby. I thought that rather odd considering that he was not merely a member of Lord Derby's Government, but that he was the leader of the House of Commons, and I thought it still more odd when I read the address in the newspapers the other day, in which I saw that the present Prime Minister has been upon terms of brotherly kindness with Lord Derby for the last 20 years; they had had but one common soul and spirit—one thought and mind in public affairs. And so it appears that there are two faces to this deity, which may be turned about alternately as occasion serves. When Lord Derby has made an inconvenient declaration, then, indeed, we had nothing to do with the Government of Lord Derby; but when there is no inconvenient declaration in the case, and when it is known that the name of Lord Derby—of which from many points of view I can speak with cordial respect—when it is known that the name of Lord Derby is by far the best name that can be presented to the country at the approach of a general election, then, indeed, a complete amalgamation with Lord Derby appears to be effected, and you are invoked in his name to support the present Government. But, gentlemen, whether it be Lord Derby, or Mr. Disraeli, or Lord Anyone-else or Mr. Anybody-else, that is not the question in view. The question in view is this—are we, these three kingdoms of her Majesty, to be one united kingdom, or are we not? You have been united with Ireland, so far as law could unite you and so far as force and the strong hand of military power could unite you—you have been united, if you call it united, for 700 years. The union that has subsisted between you has at no period been a source of strength or security to this country, but has at all periods been a source of wonder and of scandal to the civilised world. Now, gentlemen, you are the persons to whom it is to be referred in the last resort how long these matters are to be carried on. Do you intend, or do you not intend, that our relations with Ireland shall continue such as they have been? I ask you, the people of England, be you Conservatives, be you Liberals, be you Radicals, or what you like,—do you think it is honourable to you, as civilised people or as a Christian people, that your relations towards Ireland shall continue in this state? It is the strong hand of civil authority and of armed force and not the love or respect for the law or for the British connection that preserves the peace of Ireland. This is the question you have to answer, and this is the question for a reply to which you will be responsible. We have fairly raised it and laid it before you. You might, in other times, have laid it in a great degree upon the governing classes of the country; you might have laid it

on the Houses of Parliament, but you can do so no longer; you are about to create that House of Parliament, the judgment of which will be all-powerful with respect to the settlement of this great question. The next few weeks must determine whether for years to come the present state of things is or is not to continue. What is the policy opposed to ours? I should like to know that. I should like to know if there is a man out of this room who could answer that question? We have a right to look for the answer in the address of the Prime Minister. If we have had for months and months past one topic more than another reiterated beyond all endurance it is that my conduct and the conduct of others has been mischievous beyond measure because of our rabid desire for office. We rushed at the Irish Church without waiting for the report of the Commissioners. "Why did you not wait for the report of the Commission," we have been asked—"for the report of the ten wise men who were to settle all these difficulties?" Well, gentlemen, I was content to say that in my opinion the report of the Commission could not possibly have anything to do with the matter. The report of the Commission was a report to consider how the Irish Establishment should be managed supposing it were to continue an Establishment, but as I wished that it should not continue an Establishment, I very naturally wished not to give the Commissioners the trouble of making any report at all. It is perfectly obvious that as far as the report of the Commission is concerned it could have no value. But how does the matter stand on the other side? That is a very different affair. They did wait for it, and the report has been published. Yet what is the result? The Prime Minister publishes his address, which contains an outline of the policy on which the three kingdoms are to be governed, and there is not a single reference in his address to that report. He did not even acknowledge the portentous labours by which the Commissioners have contrived to produce a huge mass of figures in a great blue book. As a matter of policy, that argument of waiting for the report of the Commission, in order that the Government might be able to form some idea of what was required on the question of the Irish Church, is now utterly exploded. I have said, and I am bold and free to repeat, that I am not a reformer of the Irish Church, but an anti-reformer. There is no use in reforming the Irish Church. In the Irish Church you have a body which, as regards the character of its bishops, its clergy, and its laity, deserves and has my cordial respect. I do not want to extinguish a single Irish bishop, but I object to their living on other people, and I am perfectly convinced that as an ecclesiastical body, as a holy Church, a religious communion, and as a spiritual body, when you have once by your votes put them through the process of disestablishment they will be happier, better, and more useful, and live more nobly than they ever did before. As to the charge of being a promoter of the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, I do not wish to use an argument that may be odious; but I repel and repudiate that charge, and I repeat that those who make it are not prepared to substantiate it. I distinctly deny that our proposal was made in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, for, while I admit that the Roman Catholics refuse to take what we offer, it gives to the Roman Catholic people of Ireland civil justice. What is the gift of civil justice? It is made rather to promote the interests of Christianity and to spread the dominion of the Protestant

Church. If you say that it is not so you admit that the Roman Church is the only true Church; and I must say that it does the Roman Catholic Church some credit when I consider their readiness and determination to rely on their ancient and unbroken traditions, on the zeal and perseverance of their subordinates. That is to say, their choice is not to have an Establishment. They say, "We can support our own Church," and they tell the Protestant Establishment that it must come down from its vantage-ground and meet the challenge of its rivals. That—it is replied—will be the ruin and destruction of the Protestant Church. And this, gentlemen, is said by the friends of Protestantism! Well, I suppose that if there be any friends of Protestantism that are worth its having they are those who are inspired by some belief in its truth, and if there be any men that have any belief in its truth, I think their desire will be that the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, and the Church of the Presbyterians, and every other Church under the circumstances in which Ireland is placed should meet on a fair and level field, and free from the odious recollections and the painful associations that must attend every system where the one party has necessarily hanging about it the sense and the spirit of ascendency, and where the other carries with it all the recollections of wounded feelings resulting from oppression that lasted for long ages. Gentlemen, the question is a great issue for you to consider and to decide. I think that we have done our duty in the endeavour to lay it before you. Its gravity is not to be disguised. It is said that we, forsooth, have made it a party question. Well, gentlemen, at all events you know this, that when we charged ourselves with the question of Reform, and when we found that we must abandon the question of Reform or our offices, we determined to abandon our offices. After that we are not to be driven back by these idle imputations. We have made our appeal fairly, openly, in the face of day to the people of England to abolish the Church of Ireland as an Establishment, with every consideration that equity can give in the arrangement of the measures necessary for the execution of our designs, to abolish along with it every other grant that involves the State in the responsibility of connection with any particular religion, and to establish no other Church and no other form of religious teaching in its place, after we shall have done all that equity and indulgence can require in winding up this great scheme of policy. That, I say, is the design that we have laid before the country, and which the country does understand. There is no other scheme, gentlemen, before you; there is nothing but a multitude of misty, foggy, vaporous declarations, as far as they have meaning, all in conflict. One says he is for holding high the Protestant religion in Ireland; another says, "Undoubtedly the question of the Church of Ireland is difficult and requires much consideration;" another says, "Probably it will be necessary to give away some part of its property." Gentlemen, don't follow any one of these narrow, obscure, and devious paths, that will lead you into the desert, into the mists, and into the fog. Let us go straightforward on the road of civil justice and equal rights; giving unto others that which we desire they should give to us, doing unto them as we, in their place, would be done by, and confident that in serving the right we are serving the God of right and justice, and that wherever be the truth of faith and religion, wherever be the superior claims of this or that ecclesiastical communion, the supreme interests of truth will and must be served by the adoption of such a policy.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# AMPHITHEATRE, LIVERPOOL.

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OCTOBER 14TH, 1868.

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MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I hope I do not presume too much when I express my belief that my friend Mr. Grenfell has done much to-night within these walls to establish his title to your favour. In one respect, if in one only, I am happier than he, and that is that I am enabled to look back to former occasions on which I have had the honour to address you, and to be cheered by your approval in the conduct of questions of great public interest and moment. Mr. Grenfell has, indeed, given me a friendly challenge to enter to-night on the subject of retrenchment; but as I hold that mercy is a part of justice, and as I remember that it was my duty to inflict a long explanation on that matter only 48 hours ago upon a portion of this constituency, I do feel that it is but fair that a certain time of repose should be allowed to the minds of the men of Lancashire. There is no want of topics upon which it is to be desired, and, indeed, it is urgently necessary, that there should be a free interchange of ideas between yourselves and those who are the candidates for your suffrages. I cannot but go back, addressing you as I now do, towards the close of the existence of this Parliament—I cannot but go back to an occasion, two years ago, when we were engaged in the struggle for the Reform Bill of 1866. My friend Mr. Grenfell has told you that he was not one of the most sanguine adherents of that Reform Bill, but he significantly added that he voted for it on every occasion. Now, I think that we have not much to complain of, and certainly I, for one, don't complain at all of those who might have thought that we were premature in raising the question, or who might have thought that when we did raise it we did not take the right path to success, provided they did that which was done by my hon. friend,—namely, that when he saw the public interest

was involved, and that the principles of Liberal Government must either enjoy a triumph or suffer defeat, he lent the aid of his vote on every occasion in order to insure that triumph and avert that defeat. In the month of April, 1866—repeating a sentiment which had been uttered by my noble friend, Earl Russell, who was at the head of the Government—repeating the sentiment, although in other words, I told you—using a phrase which was much ridiculed at the time—that we had broken our bridges and had burnt our boats, and that, come what might, we held ourselves bound in faith and honour to the people, and would not recede from the ground which we had taken. Gentlemen, I hope you think that that pledge was honourably fulfilled. I trust you may also be of opinion that the men who gave those pledges when they give others, and make solemn declarations upon other subjects, do it, not for the purpose of paltering with your feelings and serving their own interest, but because they have great public objects in view, because they require your aid to enable them to compass those objects, and because, in order to obtain your aid, they know it is necessary to possess your confidence. Now, upon the subject of Reform it is necessary that we should travel a little backwards, for, unhappily, that question, although it has reached a position which undoubtedly involves a great popular triumph, is not, I am afraid, to be regarded as one of which we have completely taken leave. In 1867 we were introduced to a series of extraordinary scenes. First of all we had a general intimation and promise that something would be done; then a series of resolutions, which strutted a brief hour upon the stage—as they might do on this stage and then disappear; then there was a Bill which we have been told, on the authority of a Cabinet Minister, was framed in ten minutes, and which was withdrawn in very little more than ten minutes; and, lastly, there was a Bill which—undergoing the strangest transformations in its course through Parliament—has now, I will not say, become the law of the land, but has been altered into something like that which has become the law of the land. When that Bill was introduced I frankly stated my opinion that it was the worst Bill that was ever laid upon the table of the House of Commons; and, moreover, I believed then, and I believe now, and I will give you the means of judging whether I am reasonable in that sentiment, that it was a Bill the very presenting of which would have deserved and justified a vote of censure from Parliament. For what did that Bill contain? Under the name of a measure of progress, it was a measure of reaction; under the name of a measure for enlarging the political influence of those great classes who were almost excluded from the representation, it actually narrowed and lowered the influence of those classes. I have no doubt that what I now say appears like a revival of ancient and forgotten history, so rapidly were the features of that measure one by one effaced, and so anxious were its authors that the recollection of them should not be revived. But what was the aspect with which that Bill was presented to us? It contained a provision which would have enfranchised by an enlargement of the suffrage under the name of household suffrage from 100,000 to 120,000 men of the classes inhabiting houses below £10 in value. That was the enlargement which it contained. But, along with that, it contained a provision under the name of the dual vote which would have doubled in the middle and the wealthier classes of this country some 300,000; so that instead of receiving from that measure, if

it had passed as it stood, the benefit of an enlarged share of influence in the representation, the labouring men of the country, including those men of Lancashire who had proved alike their intelligence and their heroism during the terrible period of the cotton famine, would have found themselves condemned to a still narrower sphere in the influence they could exercise upon the representation of the country than the sphere afforded them by the confessedly defective provisions of the Reform Act of 1832. Therefore, that measure, called a measure of Reform, was really a measure of retrogression and reaction, and, although called a measure for conferring popular privileges, it was really a measure for diminishing the popular privileges already conferred. And permit me to say that if we are to estimate the judgment of the Government, if we are to estimate the intentions and principles of the Government, we must estimate them not by the final form of an Act of Parliament, which exhibits all the influences that the various sections of Parliament may really have brought to bear upon it during its discussion, we must estimate them mainly from the form of the Bill when it was laid upon the table. The simple facts I have given will enable you, the electors of this large county constituency, and the electors of the borough of Liverpool, to judge how far it is true and how far it is not that Her Majesty's present advisers did address themselves to the question of Reform with the honest intention of enlarging the sphere of popular influence and of representation. But, gentlemen, over and above what I have said, there were other provisions in the Reform Bill almost as blameworthy as the provisions relating to the dual vote, and these were the provisions which make me now feel it necessary to address you for some little time upon the subject, because they involve matters that must, necessarily, come under the early attention of the Parliament about to be chosen. I mean now the provisions relating to compound householders. There was a fashion adopted by members of the Government of sneering at what was termed the compound householder, as if the compound householder was other than a British citizen fulfilling all his duties of citizenship; nay ,more, in utter forgetfulness that the compound householder generally was not a compound householder by his own choice, but by arrangement between his landlord and his own parish. And these compound householders were two-thirds of the whole population below the £10 line. The Bill presented to Parliament excluded the whole of those compound householders, but it allowed to them the power of—what do you think? (A voice: Paying their own rates.) Paying the rates! says my friend. And what does that mean to a man who never heard of rates, whose landlords had paid the rates and been reimbursed in the rent without the occupant's knowing anything about the matter? Why, you know, there were tens of thousands even in this town, and hundreds of thousands of such throughout the country. Now, what was the option, what was the privilege conceded to the artisan of England in that condition? It was this: he might go to the most learned in the law among his friends and inquire of them what course he was to take in order to find out the nature and amount of his liability as a rate-payer; he must then find out—and I am sure I do not know exactly how he would do it—what rates had been paid recently in the parish to which he belonged, of which he had no business, as the law stood, to know anything at all. And then he was allowed the privilege of devising a form under which

he might apply to the parish officer to pay up the full difference between the rate last levied on the parish and the composition rates which his landlord had paid for him, and of which he knew nothing whatever. Gentlemen, it was a pure mockery. It was little short of an insult to the labouring men of England, engaged from morning to night in the honourable exertions whereby they support their wives and families, to tell them that if they wished to enjoy the privileges of citizenship they were to set about the process of this legal inquiry—to ascertain facts and learn the forms in which to present the documents, and then to pay a sum in hard money in order to be educated to the franchise. Well, on the night on which that proposal was made I said that it was a Bill for imposing upon the people of England—that is upon two-thirds of the people of England —below £10 a pecuniary fine, as the condition for obtaining and exercising the franchise, and to that statement I now deliberately adhere. The Liberal party in the House of Commons were accordingly dissatisfied with the provisions of the Bill, and they authorised and instructed me, at a meeting which was held at my house for the purpose, to state the formidable objections, as we considered them, to the Bill. I will run over these objections. The first was that while the voter of £10 was to reside for one year to entitle him to the franchise, the voter under £10 was to reside for two years to entitle him to the franchise, and the Minister who explained that clause, Sir John Pakington, the present Minister of War, very frankly stated in the House of Commons that the main object of creating that distinction and imposing the condition of two years—indeed, of one—was to restrain the numbers that would be admitted to the franchise. Well, gentlemen, that clause disappeared, and the two years, through the action of the Liberal party upon a division, were reduced to one year. The second point was the dual vote, in which I have already told you that it was estimated by the best-informed persons that while it would have been enjoyed exclusively by those wealthier portions of the community that were already amply represented, to them would be given an influence of not less than 300,000 additional votes. The statement of the Minister was that it would very largely exceed 200,000, but I know I do not speak without book when I place that amount at 300,000. Well, gentlemen, that clause also disappeared. The next was a set of franchises given to persons who had obtained degrees in Universities, given to persons who paid a certain amount of assessed taxes, or who paid a certain amount of income-tax, all invested with the same apparatus—viz., that of depressing popular influence in the constituencies. Those clauses were powerfully opposed by my learned friend Sir Roundell Palmer, and the Government was compelled to withdraw them. The next point, gentlemen—the fourth of those I have named—was that the Bill did not contain what is known by the name of a lodger franchise. Now, possibly in Liverpool—certainly in many towns of the country—as a general rule, each head of a family has his own house, and where that is the case the question of the lodger franchise is of little importance; but in large portions of London—and London, you will recollect, contains one-third of the entire town population of the country—in large portions of London, by far the greater part of the artisans and labouring population are not householders but lodgers; therefore we entirely objected to passing by this well-qualified class of citizens; and the Liberal party required, and at length obtained, the

insertion of the clause which grants the lodger franchise. Well, gentlemen, the fifth point I will mention is this—there was an ingenious provision in the Bill that any voter might give his vote by means of a form written upon paper; it was represented that this would be a matter of great convenience, and one distinguished member of Parliament—very friendly indeed to the proposal, a man of whom I never can speak but to his honour—described the proposal in this sense:—The declaration upon paper was to be made, I think, before a magistrate, and he said it would be exceedingly convenient if it would turn the magistrate's drawing-room or sitting-room into the polling-booth. Well, gentlemen, we did not think that a great recommendation. It appeared to us that we—especially those of us who object to the ballot—most undoubtedly wish rather to see the British citizen give his vote with his fellow-citizens at the polling-booth than carry it to the house of the magistrate, very possibly the magistrate being his landlord, very possibly under the conduct of the landlord's agent on his way to the drawing-room. We deemed the provision adverse to free election and a popular franchise, and upon a division we were able to expunge it from the Bill. The sixth point upon which we objected was that the county occupation vote was not sufficiently extended; it was proposed to fix the line at £15 of rated value. We did not obtain with respect to that point as much as we could have wished. However, we obtained the reduction to £12 rated value, and, undoubtedly, I hope that any voter who happens to be of £12 rated value in the county, and not to be of £15, and happens to hear any Tory candidate dilating on the great generosity of her Majesty's Government in granting you this Reform Bill, will inquire into the history of the party operation by which the £12 got a vote in the teeth of the views of her Majesty's Government. The seventh point related to the scheme of the redistribution of seats, and upon that I will only say that, as it was introduced, it was miserable, narrow, and totally unsatisfactory. By force of adverse divisions and considerable majorities, we did obtain some enlargement of that scheme. I own we did not obtain all the enlargement that we should have wished; that was not our fault; it was the fault of the resistance with which we were met from the Treasury benches. My eighth point was this,—that the Bill, as it was introduced, did not grant any reduction whatever upon the leasehold franchise in the county constituencies. We deemed that it was most desirable to increase that class of voters, and again upon a division we were enabled to obtain the reduction of that franchise from £10 to £5, at which it now stands. These are eight of the ten points I mentioned which I put down to-day; the ninth I really don't at this moment recollect; but the tenth related to the personal payment of rates, on which I shall say a few more words. But I am bound also to add, for I think they are among the very valuable provisions of the Reform Bill, that we were enabled to introduce into that measure not, indeed, all the clauses that are desirable for the purpose of restraining the heavy cost of Parliamentary elections, which cost, depend upon it, gentlemen, is neither more nor less, when you look at it closely, than another fine upon the exercise of popular privilege, another limitation placed upon the freedom of your choice—we did not succeed in introducing all that we sought to introduce for the purpose of limiting that heavy charge. Some provisions applicable to the whole country, and some, in particular, applicable to boroughs, we

did introduce, which as far as they go are of a very salutary and useful character, but which, unfortunately, did not receive the approval of her Majesty's Government, and were carried by that last and painful resort, the resort to the process of counting numbers on a division. There is another point I must mention, although it relates in this county more to towns than to the county, and it is also a point on which I frankly own to you there was a considerable division in the Liberal party itself; but the great majority of the Liberal party did resist, and resist with increasing energy the more they considered the matter, that clause which is called the clause for the representation of minorities, and which, as far as I am able to comprehend its operation, appears to be considered a common nuisance to the towns into which it has been introduced. You will have seen that, out of the ten points I have mentioned, eight points were either carried wholly or in great part. The same, I believe, was the case with the ninth, and nothing now remains of the identity of the Bill originally brought in except the personal payment of rates. That being so, it was still a matter of vital consequence to her Majesty's Government to show that they were the authors of the Reform Bill which had been passed during the period when they undoubtedly held office as Ministers of the Crown, and for this purpose an ingenious theory was constructed by the present Prime Minister in the speech delivered by him at Edinburgh about twelve months ago, which is, perhaps, most commonly known by the name of the "Education Speech." The Prime Minister on that occasion—making no reference to any of the nine points, of great importance, every one of them, that had been in the Bill, but which had all been turned topsy-turvy by the Parliamentary activity of the Liberal party—said the Bill was founded upon five principles, and these five principles were introduced to supply the place of the ten points. Now here, gentlemen, were the five principles. The first was that the whole question of Reform was to be dealt with at once; but the whole question of Reform was not dealt with at once, for the Reform of Parliament for Scotland and the Reform of Parliament for Ireland were entirely postponed to a subsequent Session of Parliament. Perhaps it may be meant that the redistribution of seats was to be dealt with in the same measure as the franchise; but what became of redistribution of seats for Ireland? Why, that the Government cut it out of their own Irish Franchise Bill, and it now stands over to be taken up next year, or five years or ten years hence, or whenever anybody pleases. So much for the first principle—that the whole question was to be dealt with at once. The second principle was that no borough was to have its representation extinguished. That was a very broad and manful avowal—I think a most erroneous opinion, but still one with regard to which it was bold, clear, and intelligible. So far as I am informed as to the matter of this process of education that had been assiduously carried on, I believe that the promise that no borough should be extinguished was one of the many promises and inducements held out to the Conservative party to lead them to swallow, with as good grace as they could, the Bill of Household Suffrage. But although, in 1867, we failed in extinguishing any of these small boroughs—which certainly are a disgrace to our representation, for they do nothing to contribute to the vigour of that representative system—I am happy to say that in 1868, on the introduction of the Scotch Reform Bill, we did service

in knocking upon the head some of those small and paltry delinquents, those peccant members of the representative system, and, along with that decision of the House, disappeared the second of the five principles. The third principle was that a Boundary Commission was to extend the boundaries of the principal boroughs of the country. That Boundary Commission sat. Its recommendations were subjected to the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Walpole. The committee, which was a small one, was composed of members sitting on both sides of the House, and that committee reported unanimously in favour of again knocking on the head all the principal recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners. Liverpool, Manchester, Marylebone, Lambeth, Birmingham, almost all the great towns of the country, were intended to be enlarged to remove many of you from the county, and deprive you of the county franchise. This was one of the five points which entered into the education of the Conservative party, and which was intended to induce them to acquiesce in the Reform Bill by showing how complete a hold would be given them on the county representation. The third principle went the way of the first and second, and disappeared from the system of Reform. The fourth principle was that the county representation should be increased. Well, who introduced the county representation? The Liberal party. We were not satisfied with the increase in the county representation given by the Bill of the Government and enlarging the scheme of the redistribution of seats; we gave a larger amount of county representation than the Government had proposed to give, and I myself stated in the House of Commons the irresistible claims of the county of Lancashire to a much larger amount of representation than was given by the Bill. I was unable through the opposition of the Government to procure for you that augmentation. The fourth principle has not been effaced from the Bill, but it was our principle and not that of the Government. We gave augmentation to the counties beyond what the Government proposed, which would have been further augmented if our numbers had been sufficient to secure it. I have given you nine out of ten points, and four out of the five principles. I now come to the tenth point, and to the fifth principle, and that is the principle which was described in the debate as the personal payment of rates. Now, what do you suppose is meant by the personal payment of rates? I can tell you what it does not mean. It does not mean that the rates shall be paid by the person. There is not the least necessity that the rates should be paid by the person; there is not the least necessity that any man should pay the rates in order to become a voter; any person who pleases may arrange with his landlord to pay the rates, and it may happen that there may be thousands of persons under the present law who do not know there is such a thing as a rate, and who yet come upon the register. I am most anxious to draw your attention to this because it will show what the Government have clung to with such tenacity, and the real sting of the Reform Bill. When the discussion was introduced at the beginning of 1867 the personal payment of rates did not mean the payment of rates by the person. Not only so, but a high moral tone was adopted by the Government and their advocates. It was said that it was not necessary for the occupier to pay the rate provided the rate was but paid, and we were decried as upholders of the doctrine which tended to demoralise the community, and we were met

on the other side by the most affecting declarations to show up to how high a pitch of virtue the householders of the country would be educated, by being called upon three or four times a year to such an exercise of self-denial as would enable them to lay by the money ready to give to the rate-collector when he came. I assure you that this is the whole staple of the argument. We said,—"What business have you to require heroism as a condition of the franchise? You don't require the rich man to prove that he is a self-denying man in order that he may vote; why are you to ask from the poor man, in the most inconvenient form, that which he now pays in the most convenient form? We admit it to be desirable that he should put by, but although he may not be able to put by, he may be able to exercise the franchise hereafter if he can discharge the claims of the landlord, and enable the landlord to meet the claims of the parish." However, gentlemen, the advocates of the Government got upon the high horse of virtue and morality, and in their anxiety to carry the highest principles of action through all the lowest strata of the community, they insisted upon that personal payment of rates; but, as I have told you before, when the Bill was passed it was found that the whole attempt to enforce the payment of rates by each individual would be so ridiculous, as well as so oppressive, that on the question being put in the House of Commons as to whether the personal payment of rates meant that the man himself must pay them, the answer was that it was not in the slightest degree necessary. And therefore all this virtue, all this heroism, all this self-denial, and this noble moral basis which was laid for the Reform Act of a chivalrous Government, have been wholly swept away; and what remains? I have told you that the morality has been swept away; but there is something else that has not been swept away, and that is our old friend the fine. Before the Reform Act of the present Government, it was competent for the parish and the landlords to agree together, and for the landlords or owners to agree with the occupiers in conformity therewith, that the landlord should pay the rates and should receive a reasonable discount in consideration of his advancing the money and of his running the risk. The landlord may still pay the rate, but he must pay the rate without the discount, and that is all that remains; but what does that mean? It means a fine upon the occupier. Now, listen to me for two minutes, for I do not use the language, at least purposely, of exaggeration. The occupier is liable, we will say, to pay 10s. in the name of rates. Convenience makes it desirable that the landlord should pay it for him, and the law allows it. But if the landlord is to pay it, I tell you as a simple elementary truth of political economy, he must have some commission for paying it. He will not advance the money, he will not run the risk of not recovering it without that commission. I want to know who is to pay that commission? The answer is inevitable,—the occupier of the house; and, therefore, this is the basis on which we now stand, that, besides the inconvenience which is suffered in many cases of having the composition broken up, the occupier has to pay to the landlord in his rent-book the full rate, if the landlord pays it for him, and along with the full rate a commission to the landlord for advancing the money, and for incurring the risk. That, I say, is a fine which is imposed on the occupier. Now, gentlemen, you have heard it said that a majority of the Liberal party opposed the Reform Bill. We opposed a great many of the provisions of the Reform Bill, no doubt, and I have shown you with what

result. We opposed the Reform Bill in the endeavour to improve it, and at one time those endeavours to improve it very nearly endangered the life of the Bill itself. When we proposed to disfranchise some more small boroughs, what did the Minister say? He said that if the House disfranchised any boroughs the Government must reconsider its position and determine whether it would drop the Bill, and I took the liberty of saying immediately that the Bill was no longer the property of the Government, but of the House, and I distinctly signified that if they thought fit to drop the Bill there would be others perfectly ready to take it up. However, there was one point on which we did go to vital issue with the Government; we objected entirely to the whole of those complex provisions about compound householders. We saw that as the Bill was framed, while it would be quite possible for the independent artisan to procure his own enfranchisement, it would also be perfectly possible for the electoral agent to do it, not so much in boroughs where people are numbered by tens of thousands, but in all the small boroughs; in those places where the election is turned by 10, 20, or, it may be, by 100 votes. We saw that a new fountain of corruption would be opened by those provisions; while they left the franchise to the independent action of the man himself, they left it perfectly open to the local legal gentlemen who conducted the operations of the elections to enfranchise compound householders by hundreds to secure the success of a particular candidate. We were determined to get rid of that mischief, and we insisted that the 500,000 whose rates were paid by their landlords should not on that account be deprived of the franchise. That was a motion on which we took issue with the Government; and, though I think that 289 voted for it, we were, unfortunately, beaten by a majority of 22. We said it was infinitely better, if they thought fit to do it, to restrict the franchise in an open manner, and by a plain and intelligible process, than restrict it in an underhand manner by pretending to give it and then multiplying unintelligible provisions that would prevent the enjoyment of the boon. There were two ways by which the matter could be dealt with. The first, and the better way, was by providing that the franchise should be enjoyed alike, whether the rate was paid by landlord or by tenant, without interfering with composition at all; that was the better way, and the one we recommended. The other, and the worst way, was by providing that the landlord should not pay the rate, and that composition should be abolished. That method was adopted by the Government, and it was far better in my opinion than the original provisions of the Bill, which would have left the great mass of the people unenfranchised, except those who were enfranchised by election trick and chicanery. But at the same time the provisions entailed a great amount of inconvenience and of cruel vexation on a large portion of the ratepayers of the country, and I have troubled you with this long story because I know it is a matter of deep practical importance to the comfort of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of families in humble circumstances, and I want to show what I have objected to from the first—the absurd provisions of a law which, under pretence of virtue and morality, by-and-by thrown aside, inflicted that inconvenience. I have objected to those provisions from the first, and if I should be a member of the Parliament about to be elected, among the objects which I shall deem to be essential to the comfort and advantage of

the country will be the relief of the newly-enfranchised classes from this most needless and most vexatious interference with their social arrangements.

My hon. friend has referred briefly to the great and absorbing question that more than any other presses on the minds of the people of this country—the question of the state of Ireland—and to proposals which we have made in regard to the Irish Church. My hon. friend has most justly pointed out that the proposals with regard to the Irish Church are not the only proposals which will be requisite in order to pay the full debt of justice to that country, and I will add of justice to this country, for justice to this country requires just as much as justice to Ireland that we should establish throughout the three kingdoms of her Majesty a real equality of rights. But, gentlemen, what I wish you to take heed of at this moment is the real and actual state of Ireland, for I own to you that it seems to me that the most extraordinary blindness rests upon the minds of our opponents with reference to that subject. They persist—I won't say and I don't think it can be wilful, but yet it is that kind of ignorance and blindness which it is impossible to comprehend—they persist in refusing to take any true and adequate measure of the great evil by which Ireland is afflicted. I mean the estrangement of the minds of the people from the law, from public authority, from this country—ay, and even, to a great extent, from the very Throne, under the shadow of which we are so happy to live. Now, gentlemen, is it true, or is it not true, that there is here a real evil to deal with? I ventured, in an appeal to the House of Commons in the course of last Session, to entreat those whom I saw opposite to me to join with us in an effort to efface from the memory of Ireland, by reparation and by justice, all that she had suffered. Well, but what was the answer made to me, and made by a gentleman whom I believe to be an upright as well as an able defender of the opinions he holds—namely, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, the present Home Secretary? He made to me this answer, and I beg you to consider the terms. I had said, "Apply, if you can, a medicine to this disaffection which exists in Ireland;" and he answered, "It is the mind of Ireland that is diseased, a disease caused by long traditions of hatred to the Saxon race that have been kept alive by misrepresentation and by constant agitation. It is thus you have diseased the kindly and generous mind of Ireland, which would otherwise have been in harmony and peace with us." Now that is the representation made, gentlemen, by our political opponents—that there is no real mischief and no real grievance of a serious kind in Ireland, and that all the discontent that exists is due to what is called agitation. Why, gentlemen, the first token of gross error that immediately meets the mind when we examine such reasons is this—that such a speaker as Mr. Hardy, seems to suppose that when a people is well and justly governed, it is in the power of an agitator to make it discontented; and you cannot go through the length and breadth of the world—into any country where tyranny prevails—without finding that this is the very language and the very excuse of the tyrant. The tyrant always says, "If there is no real mischief, there is no real grievance; it is all due to agitation." Well, but what is the state of facts in Ireland? On that, after all, the difference as to the matter of fact is possibly not so very great. The state of facts in Ireland is described by this—that on four successive occasions, through three successive years, we

have been obliged to suspend in Ireland the law of *habeas corpus*, which provides for the personal liberty and security of every one of you. We have been obliged to suspend that law to provide for the maintenance of the peace of the country. (A voice, "More shame.") A gentleman says, "More shame." I do not agree with him. It is our duty to maintain the peace of the country; it is our duty to suspend that law if its suspension be necessary for such a purpose; but it is also our duty, in suspending that law, to look gravely and carefully at the causes which have led to the suspension of the law, and obviate, if we can, the recurrence of occasions so painful and scandalous, which oblige us, on account of the alienation and estrangement of the public mind, to take away from Ireland one of those guarantees of liberty which every one of us values dearer even than life. Lord Mayo, speaking on behalf of the present Government in the House of Commons, told us that a very large portion of the population of Ireland of the lower classes—and, unfortunately, in Ireland what we call the lower class is an overwhelming portion of the whole — that a very large portion of that population was either in positive sympathy with Fenianism, and ready to seize the very first opportunity of armed resistance to the law, or was at all events disposed to look on with favour or with a cold neutrality, and not disposed to render that loyalty and that warm and firm attachment which we desire to see prevailing between the whole of the subjects of the country and the laws under which they live. Gentlemen, what I want to call your attention to is this—that it is a most remarkable picture. Lord Mayo, having described the manner in which the educated classes in Ireland are almost entirely, though not altogether, opposed to the mad and wild attempts of the Fenian conspiracy, went on to say that Fenianism had its root in another land. Well, if there were time, I should like to tell you what the Americans think of Fenianism, for it is most desirable we should hear what they have to say on the subject; but for the present what I wish to point out to you is this, the real state of the Irish mind in America; because, if not we who are assembled here, yet many of our countrymen, delude themselves with the idea that Fenianism in Ireland is only the fancy of the mere scum of the community—of the drunkard, of the beggar, of the thief, of what are called the dangerous or disreputable classes; and they think that in America Fenianism is nothing but the result of a military excitement which necessarily has invaded that country, engaged as it has been in the distracting struggles of a civil war. Now, I am going to read to you some notices which are short, but they are of the deepest interest, from a work on which I think that full reliance may be placed. It is the work of Mr. Maguire, the Member of Parliament for Cork, and a most intelligent man, a very able Member of Parliament, and, I believe, a perfectly faithful and honest witness, and a true and warm-hearted Irishman. No man is more opposed to Fenianism than Mr. Maguire; but he paid a visit to America; he published the results, and I do not believe that either his good faith or his accuracy has been impugned. He made it his business to ascertain what were the elements of the strength of Fenianism in America. Because the question is this:—Is it the result of merely accidental cases? is it confined to the outcasts of society? or is it a deeply rooted inveterate passion that has taken hold of the mind of the people of that country as the violent recoil from the sufferings they have undergone,

and which is likely to become a passion as permanent as it is vehement, unless we can apply the remedy to the fountain-head of the disease? Now, we are fond of thinking that a sentiment of irritation in the Northern States of America has had to do with Fenianism. Take this anecdote told by Mr. Maguire. He meets with an Irish Southerner who has been crippled in the war by the loss of one of his arms, fighting for the Southern cause, but that man holds up the other arm, and he says, "This is the only arm I have left, and so help me God, I'd give it and every drop of my heart's blood if I could only strike one blow for Ireland." Mr. Maguire goes again to a mine wrought almost entirely by Irishmen, about 300 in number, in the State of Illinois. Among those 300 men he says there were not six drunkards, but he said he found among them the same feeling of passionate love for Ireland—the same feeling of passionate hatred to its Government, of course meaning the British connexion. Mr. Maguire gives his opinion in these words generally:—"My belief is that among Fenians in almost every State or Union there are many thousands of the very cream of the Irish population; indeed, in several places in which I have been I have learned, on unquestionable authority, very frequently of those who regarded Fenianism with positive dislike and its leaders with marked mistrust, that the most regular, steady, and self-respecting of the Irish youth, or the immediate descendants of Irish parents, contributed its chief strength." Gentlemen, I know not what impression such statements make on your minds. They make a deep impression on mine. I think we, perhaps, were pretty well aware of the state of the case; but I would to Heaven that those who are opposed to us, and who think as the Minister of the Crown thinks who has the seals of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that all the evils of Ireland are owing to agitation—I wish they were aware of this state of feeling. Why, gentlemen, Mr. Maguire adds this—he meets with an Irishman in America who had been evicted from his holding in Ireland 25 years ago. Mr. Maguire says he cherished a feeling of hatred and vengeance not so much against the individual by whom the wrong was perpetrated as against the Government by whom it was sanctioned, and under whose authority it was inflicted. You have read probably within the last few weeks the painful and heartrending accounts of those attempts at eviction on the estate of Mr. Scully in Ireland, which ended in the death of one or two policemen. Possibly you have read in the newspapers the condition of the leases which those holders of the land were required to accept, or else to leave their holdings without a hope of livelihood of any kind. If you have read those conditions, if you bear in mind that such laws can be proposed to the poor occupiers of land in Ireland without offending the law, and if you then add to this recollection that the strong arm of the Government is ever at command to defend the enforcement of whatever is legal,—I think every one of us can well conceive—cannot indeed justify but can excuse, or, if we cannot excuse, can at least understand—how it is that this deep and sullen feeling of estrangement—passive estrangement, sometimes arising into active and burning hatred—has grown up in the minds of that unhappy people. But now, gentlemen, I am going to present to you a contrast, for many of those gentlemen who admit in their full breadth the unhappy effects with regard to the state of the national mind of Ireland—I mean of

a very large portion of that people—many of those who admit the facts dispute the causes, and they tell you with a grave face—and many of them, I believe, are conscientiously convinced, strange as it may appear—that all this is owing, not to agitation, as a Minister of the Crown thinks, but to some unhappy, incurable perverseness of mind in the Irishman that makes him love to live in the atmosphere of turbulence and discontent, just as much as an inhabitant of any other country loves to live in an atmosphere of contentment and loyalty and peace. Certainly, gentlemen, that is a creed of astounding strangeness. I was going to say it was a libel upon Providence. Supposing it happened that there was a particular country on the face of the earth where all mankind were born with only one arm and one leg instead of two arms and two legs, we should think it a most strange and incredible circumstance until we had ocular demonstration of the fact. Rely upon it, it is not one whit less strange, not one whit less incredible, that there should be a people—a civilised people, a Christian people, a people engaged like ourselves in the pursuits of industry, a people living as we ourselves do in every domestic relation of life, and fulfilling their duties well—yet that this people should have an insatiable and inextinguishable passion for turbulence and discontent and a hatred of that state of peace which is the only road to prosperity. I might, I think, stand for the confutation of that belief upon its rank absurdity. When such things are told us we have a right to refuse all credit to them. They involve revolutions of the whole course of nature and the whole order of the world, which, many as are the imperfections of the state in which we live, nevertheless are not to be found. But we have the confutation of facts. Lord Mayo even has shown you the state of the Irishman in Ireland; Mr. Maguire has shown you the state of the Irishman in the United States. Now go with me across the Canadian border and look for a few minutes to the state of the Irishman in Canada, and here, instead of referring to lengthened and various documents, I will quote the words but of a single witness. Possibly the name I am going to mention may be known to you. It is the name of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee, a gentleman who, I believe, was well known in Ireland during so much of his life as he passed there, as one of the most vehement of Irish patriots, and as one of those who either exposed himself on that account to the penalties of the law, or else was within an ace of so exposing himself. That was the character of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee. He went to Canada. Canada is under the sway of the same beloved Queen. In what does Canada differ from the United Kingdom? Canada has a free Parliament, and so have we, but Canada has not got unjust laws regulating the tenure of the land on which the people depend for subsistence, and Canada has not got installed and enthroned in exclusive privileges the Church of a small minority. It was said of old that men who crossed the sea changed their climate but not their mind; but mark the change which passed upon the mind of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee. Let me read you his testimony, for it is in words more significant and more weighty than I can give you—words that cannot be carried home too forcibly to the minds and hearts of the people. Only a few months ago Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee spoke as follows at a public festival given to himself and his colleague at Montreal. Speaking of Fenianism, and of the spirit with which he was prepared to resist it, he says—"I wish the enemies of her internal peace, I wish the enemies of the Dominion, to

consider for a moment that fact, and to ask themselves whether a state of society which enables us all to meet as we do in this manner, with the fullest feeling of equal rights and the strongest sense of equal duties to our common country, is not a state of society, a condition of things, a system of laws, and a frame of self-government worthy even of the sacrifice of men's lives to perpetuate and preserve." Such is the metamorphosis effected on the mind of a disaffected Irishman by passing from a country of unjust laws to a country of just laws; but has he changed his mind with respect to Ireland? He thinks and speaks of Ireland as he thought and spoke of it before. He says, "Speaking from this place, the capital of British America, in this presence, before so many of the honoured men of British America, let me venture again to say in the name of British America to the statesmen of Great Britain, 'Settle for our sakes and your own, for the sake of international peace, settle promptly and generously the social and ecclesiastical condition of Ireland on terms to satisfy the majority of the people to be governed. Every one sees and feels that while England lifts her white cliffs above the waves she never can suffer a rival Government, a hostile Government, to be set up on the other side of her. Whatever the aspirations of Irish autonomy, the union is an inexorable political necessity, as inexorable for England as for Ireland. But there is one miraculous agency which has yet to be fully and fairly carried out in Ireland. Brute force has failed. Proselytism has failed. Try, if only as a novelty, try patiently and thoroughly, statesmen of the Empire, the miraculous agency of equal and exact justice for one or two generations.'" Gentlemen, I wish to impress on the minds of the people of England this advice of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee. Since these words were uttered the man from whose mouth they proceeded has been removed from this lower world, and his death—due, as some think, to Fenian licentiousness— has added a melancholy dignity and an augmentation of weight and force to the impressive sentiments which he had uttered. It is in pursuance of these opinions that we have proposed to Parliament the policy on which you have to pass your judgment. The first fruits of that policy are before you. I will describe to you in few words what it is that has been said and done—what it is that you are called upon to ratify or to reverse. The House of Commons in 1868, and the House of Commons which still subsists, is certainly not a revolutionary assembly; but that assembly has declared by its vote that it is expedient that the Established Church in Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment; that all appointments to offices in that Church, of whatever character—and that means all political or State appointments—should be stopped upon the first vacancy in each case; that all life interests and proprietary rights should be carefully respected; and we should likewise put a stop, with similar reserves, to the *Regium Donum* paid to the Presbyterians, and to the Maynooth Grant. So much has been voted by the House of Commons, and as it was my fortune to make the proposal on which that was founded, some interest has been felt about the declarations of opinion with which, on my part, that proposal was accompanied. I have stated the effect of the vote apart from those declarations of opinion, because you are well aware of the very different order of weight and importance that must attach to one and to the other. What the House of Commons thinks, is already far on the way to become the law of this great empire, but what an individual may think.

though it is certainly matter most legitimate for the scrutiny of his constituents, is in comparison with the former light as air. However, I do not scruple to say that I am deeply convinced in the first place, of the necessity of our putting an absolute stop to the system of a State Establishment of religion in Ireland. But, on the other hand, in doing that, over and above the declaration that the life interests are to be respected, and that proprietary rights are not to be invaded, I say it is a dictate alike of wisdom and of generosity that, keeping our end steadily in view, and never failing to march before it, we shall adopt the utmost possible measure of mildness in the means. Everything that equity and that reasonable indulgence could suggest without being inconsistent with the end in view, and that does not impair the efficacy of the measure, should, in my opinion, be favourably entertained. That I may show what I mean I will just refer to two points on which I know great interest has been felt. I can give no guarantee as to what will be the ultimate judgment of Parliament, but I may express my opinion on these points. In the first place there are in the Established Church of Ireland a certain number of endowments which have been given by private persons, which have become in the law public and national property, but which, nevertheless, were given by members of the Church of Ireland for the purposes of the Church of Ireland—just as a Wesleyan Methodist might, if he thought fit, give his money for the purposes of Wesleyan Methodism. My opinion is that those endowments, though technically they may have become portions, you may say, of the public and national property, ought to be carefully respected. In the same way a question arises with respect to the churches that are now possessed and used by the ministers and members of the Irish Establishment, and the parsonages which the clergy inhabit. My opinion, gentlemen, is that the feeling of this country, apart from logic, never would endure that if those clergy and laity are disposed to continue the use of those parsonages and churches for public worship—never would endure that they should be taken away from them. I give these as samples. I must add one important illustration more, and that is, whatever principles of equity or tenderness you may think it wise to employ in winding-up, if I may so speak, the affairs of the Established Church of Ireland, you must apply those same principles of equity and tenderness to the other religious endowments of the country, in so far as from their scope and circumstance they come within range of the principle. I have heard of some who think that vested rights are very sacred things if they are found within the limits of the Establishment, but not so very sacred if they are found within the limits of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. If there are persons here who hold that opinion, I must respectfully differ from them—one and the same rule of equity and liberality must be applied to the whole. Forgive me if the word "must" has escaped from my mouth, I meant "ought" to be, in my opinion, applied to the whole. But you will naturally say there is more than this. After we have satisfied every fair and equitable claim, there will be a residue of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland—a residue possibly reaching to a very considerable amount. What are we to do with that? I will state it to you, gentlemen, in another form. In my opinion, that question cannot be conclusively answered by any but those who shall

be responsible Ministers of the Crown, and shall have an opportunity of examining all the facts that bear upon the answer. But, while I say that, I likewise add that the funds which shall have been taken from the Church now established in Ireland—I mean the residue of funds after satisfying every just claim upon them—ought not to be applied to the teaching of religion in any other form whatever. It will be our duty, should you return us to Parliament—and when I say "us" you will forgive me for saying that I have in my mind and in my eye several others gathered upon this platform besides Mr. Grenfell—those who are soliciting the suffrages of this great borough; the gallant officer who has been to contest Birkenhead; my friend Mr. Thompson, who is fighting, one side of this county, towards the rising sun, that same battle which we are fighting, who look the setting sun in the face; and last, but not least, two other gentlemen, one of them a respected inhabitant of this town, who are performing the same patriotic work in a great midland borough. I earnestly hope, gentlemen, that the goodly company that I have endeavoured to describe, and that is now gathered together in perfect harmony upon this platform, will not be dissociated one from the other by any accident on the hustings or the polling booth, but that we shall be found sitting upon the same benches, or upon benches very close together, for the purpose of setting forward that great work, one portion of which I have endeavoured to bring under your view. (A Voice.: "And your son.") I am much obliged to my friend in that quarter (pointing to the gallery), for reminding me that I have a very near and close paternal, as well as public interest in another election, likewise towards the rising sun on the other side of this county, and I am very glad to think that there is any one within these walls to whom the return of my son to Parliament is a matter of interest. Gentlemen, there are a number of points connected with this question which I trust you will not think I have forgotten merely because I may have failed to notice them on the present occasion. What I am desirous most of all to do is to bring into the public view the broad facts connected with the state of Ireland. The first business of public men, and the first business of the electors of a free country, is to bind together the whole of the country in harmony and concord. That business has not been effected so far as Ireland is concerned. We call upon you, gentlemen, to give us the means and to put us in the place where we may use our utmost endeavours to effect it. It is not enough to revile us as enemies of the Constitution in Church and State and foes of Protestantism in disguise—these are matters on which we are perfectly willing to enter into argument. We think we are the best friends of the Constitution; we think that those are the best friends of Protestantism who wish that it should be justice and no more. And as to the Constitution, when we are told that we are going to ruin it, let us bear in mind how many times it has been ruined and destroyed before. It was destroyed—I will only take what has happened within my own recollection—it was destroyed in 1828 by the repeal of the Corporation Tests Acts. It was destroyed again in 1829 by the admission of the Roman Catholics to Parliament. It was destroyed a third time by the Reform Act of 1832. It was destroyed the fourth time by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. It was destroyed a fifth time by the Repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849. It was destroyed, gentlemen, if my memory does not fail me—but it is really difficult to remember, so many lives has this Constitu-

tion had, and so sad has been its fate—it was destroyed a seventh time when the Jews were admitted within the walls of Parliament; and it was destroyed an eighth time when the Government of Lord Russell had the incredible audacity to propose a Reform Bill to Parliament, with the intention of carrying it or of dying in the attempt. And, therefore, gentlemen, this being so, it appears that our Constitution resembles that animal which is said to have nine lives; but with this fortunate distinction, whereas the cat each time that it loses one of its lives gets a step nearer to dissolution, our Constitution, on the other hand, each time that it is destroyed, comes forth more vigorous than ever from the process, and promises to us all, with more and more of hope and joy, the expectation of handing it down as a blessing to our children. Gentlemen, we ask you for your help in the efforts that we are to make. We ask you in the name of the Constitution not less than in the sacred name of justice. We ask you to listen to the voice alike of policy, and of prudence, and of generosity, and of equity. Listen to that voice—the voice now of the dead, which has come to us from across the Atlantic, and give us your strong help to drive our feeble arms, and enable us to go fearlessly forward in the career of truth and justice.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# TOWN HALL, NEWTON.

OCTOBER 17TH, 1868.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I am afraid that your zeal for the cause in which you are engaged has led you to attend this meeting in such numbers that you cannot but be suffering some personal inconvenience, and as that may be so, I think that the best mark of respect I can pay you will be to make no preface at all on this occasion, but to go to work at once upon topics that may interest you. Now, gentlemen, we have heard a great deal during the present election, I am thankful to say, on the subject of public expenditure, and I trust we shall hear a great deal more. For you may rely upon it that the agitation of a question of that nature during an election is attended with most profitable effects. Somehow or other, I cannot tell how it is, but the questions discussed at that period seem to sink in the minds of the candidates, as if there was a kind of dew resting upon them, which made them accessible to genial influences. You may rely upon it that so far as I am concerned that subject will not be neglected; but I have seen lately a statement made by one of those in the field on the other side to this effect—a very ingenious statement—that I have invented this subject of the public expenditure, and dragged it into the field, in order to shirk the discussion on the Irish Church. Well, gentlemen, I intend, therefore, to-day, to trouble you in order to disabuse the minds of those who entertain any such idea. I intend to speak upon one or two practical points, which I think to be of great importance with respect to the Irish Church. And, gentlemen, it is needful to do so, for I hold in my hand a pamphlet which is now being circulated in the south of England—I think sent to me by an elector of the county of Surrey, who complains bitterly of the misstatements made by the opponents of the Irish Church. He says—"To speak of these attacks as merely exaggerated statements would be to characterise them much too faintly.

They carry with them, in general, so little of the semblance of truth or candour as to make it hardly possible to acquit their fabricators of intentional deception." This, therefore, gentlemen, is the author who desires to lift from your minds the clouds of misunderstanding that have enveloped them. But how does he set about it? In the next page but one he says—"The property of the Church of Ireland consists of glebe land and tithe-rent charge." And this worthy gentleman, who appears as an oracle upon this question, a gentleman of such tender conscience and abundant information, in quoting the intentional deception of those who have made statements hostile to the Irish Church, coolly asserts that the property of the Irish Church consists of glebe land and tithe-rent charge; but if you have read the report of the Royal Commission on the Irish Church, you will have seen that the Church of Ireland, besides glebe land, charitable and glebe land, parsonages and incumbencies, possesses bishop land and chapter land to an enormous extent, believed to be of far greater value than the annual income they yield, and they are stated to yield an income annually of between £140,000 and £150,000. Now, gentlemen, when I mention that, I dare say unintentional, misstatement, I only do so to induce you to be upon your guard, particularly against those gentlemen who affect to be in possession of invaluable information, and against those who are particularly abusive of men from whom they differ. That you will find to be a good rule. And now, gentlemen, I think it is quite time to have a little public discussion upon the subject of this Irish Church Commission, which was set to inquire into the revenues of the Irish Church; because you may bear in mind that much blame has been bestowed upon the members of the Liberal party, and upon myself not the least among them, because we were determined to raise the question of the Irish Church during the last Session of Parliament, and because we were deaf to the appeals that were made to us to wait until after the report of the Commission had been issued. Now, the report of the Commission has appeared, and what is our position with respect to the policy which is to be pursued upon the question of the Irish Church? That is an important subject, upon which it is quite plain the principal issues will be taken in the elections that are now impending. Consequently, I make no apology in endeavouring to lay before you what I consider to be the real merits, what I consider to be the particular points connected with that subject. Now, gentlemen, consider the various methods of proceeding that have been recommended with respect to the Irish Church. There is the method of standing still. Well, it is not necessary to say much about that method. It would be a waste of your time to show you the doctrine of standing still; it is an insult to your common sense; so gross an insult to your common sense that it is not even recommended by the opposite party in this country, because they go from place to place saying, "We are entirely opposed to Mr. Gladstone and his schemes, though we are for the removal of abuses." Therefore, I will put aside the plan of standing still. The next plan is the plan we recommend—the plan of disestablishment, putting an end entirely to the State Church in Ireland. We will not discuss that, because the merits of it we may discuss at other times. The third plan was the plan of multiplying Church endowments in Ireland. That was a plan which has had great countenance in former times; and it has had

great countenance as late as the month of last March, because in the month of last March was produced the plan of Her Majesty's Government. But, somehow or other, though Her Majesty's Government had never said they would not refer to that plan, yet unquestionably they had, for the moment at all events, turned their back upon it, and as they have turned their back upon it, and as for many reasons I don't approve it, I will not trouble you at present with a discussion on that plan. Now, having disposed of three, we come to the fourth plan—to the plan that is recommended to you by those among the Conservative candidates who have ventured to open their mouths at all upon the subject. But these are gentlemen, it is right that I should say, who, though they cannot endure the removal of the Irish Church Establishment, notwithstanding that, are men who, they beg you to believe, are very favourable to the removal of abuses, though, as far as I know, they have given very little information on the subject. But I have seen one or two of them who say that they wish that some of the recommendations of this Commission should be acted upon for the removal of abuses in the Church of Ireland. Now, I have heard of no plan for the removal of abuses, except the plan of the Church Commission. I feel, gentlemen, that this is one of our difficulties. We are in Opposition, we are not the Government of the country, and yet we are in this strange and extraordinary position, that while we are proposing a policy to direct the Government of the country, the Government of the country—the Queen's Ministers—propose no policy in answer to ours. But, although they have not ventured to propose any policy, although they will be waiters upon Providence, looking for the moment which way the cat is to jump, and perfectly ready to come to any conclusion, establishment, disestablishment, or anything else you like, so soon as it is clear that the adventure would be likely to be a good one, for the present we must consider that to be the plan actually before us. Let us see what is the plan of the Commission. There are, gentlemen, a matter of 12 bishops in the Irish Church, and the first important recommendation of the Commission is that we should bury four of them. Not to bury the actual men themselves, but to bury what they call "corporations." For you must know that every bishop of a see, and every incumbent of a parish, is in law a "corporation sole," and four or six "corporations sole" they propose to bury. Well, gentlemen, this proposition of the Commission, I stop to say, is by no means the most liberal bid that has been made. These are all, you will understand, gentlemen, bids to save the residue of the property of the Irish Church. The Irish Church, considered as a spiritual body, is certainly no richer by burying four of its bishops, but the residue of the Irish Establishment is. Well, but we have had a much better bid than that in the report of the Commission. A gentleman, who does not date his letter, writes a long letter to me. He is a strong opponent of our plan, and objects extremely to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, though he is ready to remedy abuses. He thinks that the number of bishops ought to be reduced; and if anybody may seduce you from the path upon which you have entered, from your stern and firm resolution, it is the writer of the letter I hold in my hand—it is by the liberal offer he has made to you. He proposes, gentlemen, to reduce the whole Irish Church to one bishop. And not only so, he says by no means shall that one bishop sit in the House of Lords. Well, gentlemen, I admit that is a most handsome bid. It is

impossible to conceive, if we are to have an Episcopal Church, anything more liberal by way of reform than the offer to reduce that Church to one bishop. We cannot go lower; but even that handsome bid will not satisfy me. I am not satisfied with it as a politician, because I object to the Establishment of the Church in Ireland, even though they were to go beyond my friend who writes the letter to me, and were not only to reduce the bishops to one, but were to propose also to reduce the number of clergymen to one, because there would still be the Establishment, and I object to it on the principle of religious communion. But I must say this, that from what I know of the Irish bishops and clergy, I believe they will repel and reject this recommendation of the Irish Church Commission. They don't want to be cut and carved in this way. I believe many of them are rapidly coming to the conclusion, in the position in which they stand, that the best thing for them is freedom, a clear stage, and no favour. Strong in their conscientious convictions, they are ready, at all events a great deal more ready than they were, and are growing riper every day, to accept the inevitable issue, trusting to the Almighty and their cause to meet all the chances of the future. Well, then, gentlemen, besides—these bishops being disposed of and put away in this indecorous manner (to which I entirely object)—besides this, it is proposed to reduce the income of the bishops. Now, the income of the bishops in Ireland is various—some of them have more, and some of them have less—and it is proposed to place them all at £3,000 a-year. But there is a most singular proposal in the report of the Commission, and it is this: the Irish bishops, you may be aware, sit in Parliament by turns, by rotation; and the proposal of the Commissioners is that any bishop who sits in Parliament shall for the year when he sits in Parliament have £500 extra to pay his expenses. Ay, but wait a moment, don't be in a hurry—pray recollect what this is. It is our old friend the "payment of members," one of the five points of the Charter. I certainly did not expect to find that this plan of paying gentlemen to sit in Parliament, which has always been objected to vehemently as far as I know by the whole Conservative party, and by a very large portion of the Liberal party in this country, and which is not approved at all—that it was first of all to come out under a Commission appointed by the Crown, and having for its purpose to save the Irish Established Church. That recommendation, gentlemen, does not very much help the report of the Commission. Let me say, however, I do not blame the Commissioners. I really believe they have done the best they could. When a man undertakes an impossible task, you must not look too strictly to the performance of it, or judge him too severely. If a man says "I will jump over the Thames" (or rather I should say the Mersey), and happens unfortunately to alight in the middle, the result is unfortunate, although the man may be a very good jumper. These Commissioners I believe to be perfectly upright, honourable, intelligent men, and I have not a word of blame to cast upon them for the manner in which they performed their functions. My object is to show you the hopelessness of the functions themselves, and to confirm you in the adoption of that other plain, simple, and practical alternative which we have recommended to your notice. Well, the incomes of the bishops are to be reduced; four sees are to be suppressed altogether, and a number of benefices are to be suppressed; where there are not more than 40

members of the Established Church the benefice is to be suppressed. Now, I wonder, gentlemen, whether any of you could inform me why there is to be a State income for a clergyman where there are 40 persons in the parish, and why there should not be a State income where there are less than 40? What do you think now has induced the Commissioners—I have not heard an intelligible explanation of it—to fix upon that number? I own to you, I am entirely at a loss. Now, 40 won't make a congregation, for it is only one in three that can attend church at a time, and 13, which is one-third of 40, is hardly a congregation. I don't know if there is a man in this room who has an idea why the number 40 was chosen. I for my part cannot explain it. I cannot offer a reasonable solution. It did occur to me that perhaps it was because there are 39 articles and one over, This is not conclusive, but it is the nearest approach to a solution that as yet I have been able to get. (A gentleman on the platform, "It is the Jewish order—40 stripes less one.") That is a mode of representing the ministrations that I should be very sorry to follow, and for the present I know of no satisfactory means for the choice of that number. It appears to me, if it were a matter of private arrangement of gentlemen forming themselves into congregations, and finding the means for their support, nobody has any right at all to criticise the number that they choose, whether it be two or three, or two and three hundred; but this is to be a State arrangement, and the national property is to be applied wherever there are forty members, and for that reason I think we are perfectly entitled to ask why that number is chosen, and I don't know what the answer is to be. However, I think the report says that 200 parishes would be suppressed, and the ecclesiastical benefices would be deprived of their ministry by that proceeding. Now, gentlemen, observe the effect of that operation. When you argue the question of the Irish Church, you are constantly told that, though it may be quite true that there are not, in all cases, congregations for the clergy of the National Establishment, yet that, in the peculiar condition of Ireland, it is of the highest civil consequence to her to have spread throughout the country gentlemen who are gentlemen, who are persons of refinement by education, who are bound to good conduct by their profession, who are charitable almost of necessity, and who are constantly resident in the country. Well, now if that be a great necessity, you will observe that these Commissioners, who are to remove the abuses of the Irish Church, propose entirely to deprive 200 out of the 1,400 or 1,500 benefices in Ireland of the advantage of this resident clergy. Well, gentlemen, there is another recommendation or two. It is recommended that a number of chapters shall be suppressed, and it is recommended that, wherever it is possible, the parish clerk shall be consolidated into the grave-digger. I am of opinion, gentlemen, that we have got beyond that. It is a great deal too late to save the Established Church in Ireland by consolidating parish clerks and grave-diggers. But, as they say in Scotland, "mony a mickle maks a muckle," and all these things put together make a considerable sum of money, from the four bishops downwards; and you will be perfectly astonished when I tell you that the Commissioners have not told us how much it makes. Now, I have often been surprised at things I have found in documents, but I never was so much surprised before at a thing that I did not find in a document. Why, if this Com-

mission was appointed for anything in the way of removal of abuses, what they ought especially to have done was to have shown how much could be gathered together by the removal of those abuses, and under what rules and to what useful purposes it could be applied. Gentlemen, it is a very hard case. I can get no assistance from the Commission; but after looking roughly over the thing, and really having very few means of accurate computation, it seems to me, as well as I can reckon, that by the bishops they would save something between £22,000 and £25,000 a year; that by the parishes they might save from £40,000 to £50,000 a year; that by the chapters they would save £10,000 a year; and I cannot tell exactly, but I think they might save £3,000 or £4,000 a year by the grave-diggers. Now, putting all these things together, this removal of abuses would produce a fund of £80,000 a year. That is a very considerable fund; what is to be done with it? Well, gentlemen, the Inquiry Commissioners have simply said that the body which exists in Ireland—a permanent body, and which is called the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—ought to have large discretion to apply it to the increase of the incomes of the clergy in places where there are low incomes with considerable congregations. Now, it is a most extraordinary thing to me, and I am certain that there is a cause for it, why these Commissioners have not computed the savings they were going to make, and why they have not described the manner of applying them. Because, pray observe that under this application you might give it away in sums of £10,000 a year, or £20,000 a year, for they have said nothing as to the amount of augmentations to be made. A more extraordinary omission than this I never knew. But they are men of sense and intelligence, and have not omitted these things without a reason. They were afraid to put them on paper. They were afraid, in my judgment, to say, "We are going to scatter £80,000 a year more among these incumbents of the Irish Church." They knew very well that the Irish Church, of all churches upon the earth, has at this moment the most pay and the least work. Gentlemen, I don't say that in disparagement of the Irish clergy, whom I believe to be an excellent and self-denying set of men, but we must here consider them as public officers. It is not their fault if they have been put in offices with little or nothing to do, but the fault of those who continue them in those offices; and, gentlemen, it is the fault of the Parliament and the fault of the Ministry if that system is allowed to subsist; and, therefore, permit me to say, last of all, it will be your fault, as the electors of the country, if you are so hoodwinked and deluded as to send as your representatives to Parliament men from whom these things are to receive countenance. Well now, gentlemen, just to illustrate what I have said. I have made a rough computation of the remuneration of the clergy of the Church of England, and certainly in many cases I admit it is miserably small; but still upon the whole, taking one office and another, it is at any rate a remuneration which procures for the people of this country the services of an able, an instructed, a diligent, and a devoted class of men. There is no doubt about that; you may agree with or differ from them, but that praise it is admitted on all hands they deserve. In England we have—it is a very rough computation—some 20,000 clergymen, and I assume that there are twelve millions of souls in England belonging to the Church of England; that also is a rough computation; and my own

opinion is there are more, but to be within the line I take it at twelve millions. The revenues of the Church of England may in round numbers be stated at £4,000,000, and it follows that if upon the average there is one clergyman for every 600 souls, that clergyman upon the average has £200 of revenue. I hope you don't think that too much. Gentlemen, I must give you this opinion, which is an opinion I candidly entertain. Of course, there are in this country, mixed up as the revenues of the Church are with every kind of social and domestic and political arrangements, a great number of cases of over-paid clergymen,—I have no doubt of the existence of individual cases, but this I must say, that when I look at the greater part of the parochial clergy of this country, and at the many thousands of curates who are labouring in the parishes of the land, from one end to the other, when I consider the education these men have received—and the cost of that education, and the manner in which they give themselves to the work of consoling, instructing, and guiding both young and old—I honestly tell you that I think the labour of what is called the working clergy compared with other labour in this country is about the cheapest labour that any man gives. But, however that may be, I am going to make a comparison. I have said that in England one clergyman with the care of 600 souls gets £200 a year. On the other hand, in Ireland there are 2,000 clergymen, or thereabouts, of the Irish Church, but I don't think it is clearly stated in the report of the Royal Commission. There are under 700,000 souls who are members of that Church, and the revenues I take at £600,000, which is a little below the sum put down by the Commission, and I am bound to say very considerably below the sum at which, for the purposes of this comparison, they ought to have been put, because, in comparison with its resources, £700,000 would have been a more accurate statement of the revenues of that Church. Therefore, it follows that the clergyman in England has £200 a year for looking after 600 persons, while the clergyman in Ireland has £300 a year and looks after 350 persons. ("Oh" and "Shame.") At this rate, and on this basis, the clergyman in England, instead of £200, would have about £515, which might do more, perhaps, to warrant or, at least, to call for the utterance which we heard just now, than the very moderate standard to which I before referred. Well, gentlemen, if that is the case—if the remuneration of the Irish clergy—relatively to work, mind, because that is the true standard for remuneration—if the remuneration of the Irish clergy is, as I believe it to be, relatively to work, somewhere about three times that of the English clergy—then, I think, we can get a pretty good idea why it was that the Commissioners did not tell us—they were going to save by their plans £80,000 a year—that the £80,000 a year was to be distributed among those gentlemen whose rate of pay according to work is already so favourable, compared with the rate of pay of the clergy of the Church of England. Well, but now, gentlemen, I want to tell you, they talk about this removal of abuses; but I ask you to put yourselves in the place of the peasantry of an Irish county, mainly destitute of great towns, in the west and the south of Ireland, and peopled mainly—as the great bulk of the counties are—by Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic, not unnaturally, recollects that in other times the tithe of those parishes was applied directly for the purposes of his religion. He does not desire that that should

now be done, and I think he is wise in not so desiring. He does not desire it, and you don't desire it, although the Government of the country did desire, if not the tithe to be devoted to the Roman Catholics, yet that for Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and for others incomes from the public purse should be provided. But go back with me to the condition of the Roman Catholic peasant. The Roman Catholic peasant, at all events, if he has not directly had the benefit of the tithe, yet he has seen living in his neighbourhood that which has been truly described, according to the account of it I cited a few minutes ago, as an educated gentry, resident in a country that wants residents, bound to good conduct, and usually given to benevolence and kindness. And it is always alleged, and I, for one, do not deny it—for I can believe it possible in most cases, and in many cases it is true—that the Irish peasant has benefited largely by the goodwill of the Protestant clergymen. It is notorious that in the time of the Irish famine the Protestant clergy of the Established Church were the channels through which the large portion of the bounty of England was administered to Ireland, and that in that way and in many ways they have had an opportunity of cultivating the personal goodwill of the people. But that, in my opinion, is no apology at all for diverting the Church property from the purposes for which it ought to be applied, if there is to be an Establishment at all—namely, the bulk and majority of the people. But observe this, that at all events it has been some consolation to the Irish peasant that the tithe which was taken off the land which he cultivated has been spent in the neighbourhood, and in his view, by the men with whom, in many instances, he had kindly relations, and from whom on many occasions he would receive secular, civil, and even moral benefit. But now it is proposed to cure abuses, and what is to be the cure of the abuse? They propose where there is a parish—say, in Mayo or Galway—with 5,000 or 10,000 Roman Catholics and a mere handful of Protestants, that the tithe of that parish shall be carried away out of the parish altogether, and, under the recommendation of the Commission to cure abuses, the proceeds of their land and the fruits of their labours, where will they go? They will be carried into the suburbs of Dublin and Belfast, where wealthy members of the Establishment abound. Wealthy, at all events, in comparison with those from whom they are taken, and many of them wealthy in the strictest sense of the term. They will be exported from one portion of the country and imported into another portion of the country. While retaining all the odium of being applied to the Church of the minority, it will lose the graces, recommendations, and consolations which hang about it from the kindly relations between these Protestant clergymen and the Roman Catholic population. They may hear nothing more of it; and, in my opinion, I am speaking truly, you hear sometimes that we are charged with confiscation, but in my opinion that is confiscation. Those funds, gentlemen, are local funds. The tithe of a parish was never given except for the purpose of maintaining religion in the parish; and to take the tithe out of a parish of Galway or Clare for the purpose of meeting the wants of Protestant populations in Dublin and Belfast—I do not care who hears it—is, in my opinion, whatever the intention may be, dangerously like to an act of public plunder. Gentlemen, I ventured to say two months ago that I was an anti-reformer in the Church of Ireland; that I am not for the removal

of these abuses, because I know that every attempt to remove one abuse causes another, and perhaps one more gross and more offensive, to spring up in its place. Please to hear a short illustration of what I had in view —that when you remove the abuse of having a Protestant clergyman planted in the midst of a large Roman Catholic population, with only a handful of Protestant souls to whom to minister, by carrying the tithe away altogether, and by applying it in a manner in which the peasant has no interest whatever, approximate or remote, civil or religious, you do away with one abuse, but you put another in its place. Now let us see, if you have patience for a moment—because this is a matter of really great public interest and importance—let us see how far this removal of abuses would be effectual, even upon the professions with which it is set out; because, pray recollect that it is no satisfaction to me, gentlemen, if I am an elector of this country, to receive those general statements, however well they may be intended, from this candidate or that, "I am very well disposed to remove abuses." Why, gentlemen, I could go over the whole world and reform everything very cheaply indeed on those terms, because wherever I find any question of evil that afflicts humanity I have only to say, "Very well, why don't you remove the abuse?" But here we want to know what are the abuses and how they are to be removed, and I have done something to exhibit to you the hopelessness, and, I cannot help saying, viewed in these days in which we live, the absurdity, of attempting to remove those abuses. The abuse which is to be removed is the abuse of over-paid clergymen in the midst of scanty populations and scanty flocks, or no flocks at all. But, now, let us see how far the plan of the Commissioners will carry us. I have told you that it is to suspend or put an end to, all appointments or benefices in parishes where there are less than forty members of the Established Church. What I have been speaking so far I speak on my own responsibility alone, but now the figures which I am going to give you I take from a gentleman whom I believe to be as well informed as any one in the three kingdoms upon this subject — an Irish clergyman, Dr. Maziere Brady, who for some years has made himself conspicuous in Ireland by his courageous advocacy of a just and manly policy in regard to the Irish Established Church. Now, these cases I am going to mention to you will, I think, perhaps rather surprise you. These are the cases which he gives me, and I hope his letters will be published before many days are over, so that every one may be able to judge of them for themselves, because error here and there may lie hid, but whatever the facts, they cannot be shaken in the main, they are so strong. Here are the facts. He gives me the cases and the names of 14 benefices in Ireland. Now, in those 14 benefices, in each of them, besides the incumbent there is a curate, and the curate upon the average receives 100 guineas a year, and the population of the 14 benefices is 1,332 souls of the Irish Established Church; and the 1,332 souls have 14 curates to look after them, independent of the incumbents, receiving 100 guineas a year apiece. Well, you will agree with me that where there are 14 clergymen to look after 1,332 souls, that is a rather liberal allowance, when you come to consider that if you were to apply that rule to the town of Liverpool the town of Liverpool would be equipped with between 5,000 and 6,000 clergymen. I assume, therefore, gentlemen, that the 14 curates had the cure of those 1,332 souls. Well, but over and above the

100 guineas apiece paid to the curates, there is an income received by the 14 incumbents of those 14 benefices; and those incomes, according to Dr. Brady, amount to £8,192. And Dr. Brady says, truly, I think, and very fairly, that you may well say, considering the 14 curates and the 1,332 souls, that the eight thousand odd pounds is received for doing no work at all. Well, gentlemen, if there are abuses in the Irish Church, I should think this is one of them. That is an average of 95 souls; but it is useless to take the average of the souls to each, because the work is done by the curate, but the incumbent, however, receives £6 per head for doing nothing in respect of these 1,332 human beings. Now, let me see what the Commissioners do, because I remember once seeing a ludicrous and most ingenious picture of a man who was vaunting of some wonderful solution or unguent that he had for the hair, and in order to illustrate the wonderful and astonishing fertilising properties of his mixture he printed two woodcuts. The first was the head of his victim, his patient, before he used the mixture, and the second was the head after he used the mixture. When he began he was nearly bald; when he ended the course of this application his whole head was covered with luxuriant flowing locks and brown beard down to his waist; in fact it was a ravishing description. That is exactly what is proposed to be done with the Irish Church. It is admitted there are abuses in the Irish Church; it is now presented to you by Mr. Cross and Mr. Turner as admittedly in a ricketty condition; but then it is to have this application—it is to have the receipt of the Commissioners applied to it, and after the recommendations of the Commissioners have passed into law, then you are to have the Irish Church turned out as a model Establishment. Therefore, you want to know what this model Establishment will be, and I will tell you. You have 14 of these churches. On the recommendations of the Commissioners nothing will take place until one generation—at least they will not take full effect, you understand—until one generation has gone by, because, as is very proper, life interests have to be respected; but if you have the patience to wait until after these recommendations have passed into law; if you have patience until 30 or 40 years, the recommendations will then, it is probable, have taken full effect, and out of the 14 churches five will have ceased to exist—that is to say, they will cease to exist as benefices, and then there will remain nine, and the nine will present this picture to you. There will be nine benefices, with 1,172 people among them, not £150 apiece. There will be nine curates at 100 guineas each, to take care of the 1,172 people—that is about 130 apiece, and I think they may manage that. And there will be nine incumbents having nothing to do, because the curates will do it, and they will receive for doing nothing £5,639 in the Church out of which all the abuses have been removed. Now, gentlemen, unless there be the grossest of errors in the figures that have been supplied to me, and on which I am bound to say I rely—I am convinced there may be errors, but if there are any errors they will be trivial and slight—that is the result of the plan of the reform in the Irish Church that is now recommended, and attended with all the injustice I have pointed out in transferring the tithes of Connaught and Munster to enrich the congregations of Ulster and Leinster. That will be the result attained in the way of curing the abuses after I and most of you are dead and gone, some 40 years hence. Well, gentlemen, I think I may fairly say that it is not necessary

to dwell upon the plan of the Commissioners to cure the abuses of the Irish Church. The Commissioners themselves, and I cannot blame them, are apparently afraid to explain them; they keep back the principal and most important figures that are necessary to make their plan intelligible —a plan which satisfies none of the just demands of the Irish people, which removes none of the slight and insult offered to them through the medium of their religion; it would abate none of the painful difficulties and controversies that now tear and rend that people into one party and another party, instead of being a brotherhood of united citizenship. I think, gentlemen, I am justified in saying we do right to reject that plan. Now, gentlemen, before I sit down there is another point that I must mention to you. You are told that the Irish Church is to be maintained for the benefit of Protestantism. Now, that is not an unfair statement of mine. You know that is a favourite argument of all those who are opposed to us, and you are reproached probably—many of us are, at all events, reproached—from time to time with being the favourers of the Roman Catholic religion. With the Roman Catholic religion, gentlemen, we have nothing whatever to do; the controversy in which we are engaged is a controversy of civil justice. We look on the Irish people as the Irish nation, and what we say is this—we refuse to withhold justice from them, not on the ground alleged by you—namely, that they are Roman Catholics—but that they are entitled to justice as full and unrestricted as any man among us. I need not add they are entitled—of course they are entitled—to nothing more. But the allegation is that this Church is maintained for the benefit of Protestantism. Now, the fairest test of that is found in the number of Protestants that have been reared under the present system compared with the other or Roman Catholic population of the country. Now, you must recollect that it is utterly impossible for us to form a true judgment on that subject except by going back as far as we can; and the earliest authentic statement that we have upon that subject is this:—In the year 1672 Sir William Petty, a statesman of that day, gave the results of an inquiry—which I believe is admitted to have been not very far from the truth—into the relative numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics, and they were these:—There were three Protestants for every eight Roman Catholics in Ireland; and in order that I may make the comparison in an intelligible manner, I will compare these different fractions in the way in which we used to do when we went to school—that is, I will reduce them to what is called a common denominator, and that means 45 Protestants to 120 Roman Catholics. That was the proportion in 1672, some 200 years ago. Ever since that time you have had the whole ecclesiastical property of the country in the hands of a small minority under the name of supporting Protestantism. Not only that, but for the greater part of that time you have had in operation cruel and abominable laws for the purpose of suppressing the Roman Catholic religion by means that were grossly wicked and unjust; and the strongest Protestant among you, I am quite sure, would say, if I were to run through the particulars of these laws, even that strong language is not too strong to describe the laws. Now, I have got to say one thing for the Irish penal laws—that is the name by which they are known—and that is this: they were not wholly devoid of efficacy; they applied the screw pretty closely; and so long as the penal laws were in operation, so far as our information

goes, it does appear that to some extent they succeeded in keeping down the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. All I can say of the figures I give you, gentlemen, is they are the best that can be had. They have not the precision of a modern Census of population, but I have given them in the House of Commons and they have never been impugned. They have never been scrutinised and found wanting. In 1730 a Government inquiry into the relative numbers of Roman Catholics and Protestants found that there were two Protestants for five Roman Catholics. Well, I told you before that in 1672 there were 45 Protestants to 120 Roman Catholics; in 1730 there were 48 Protestants to 120 Roman Catholics; but about that time there was a certain Bishop Burke, a Roman Catholic prelate in Ireland—I forget of what see—who made an estimate of the numbers, and he estimated that there were two Protestants for four Roman Catholics—that is, 60 Protestants for 120 Roman Catholics. The application of the screw was doing, in some degree, its work. In 1672, again, Bishop Burke computed that the Protestants were increasing. Shortly after that the penal laws began to be relaxed. In 1784 a computation was made, in a manner which I admit is a very rough one; it was by estimating the proportions of the people of different religions in the beggars. There was then no Poor Law in the country. What I wish you particularly to observe is this, that those figures I am giving you about numbers are what are called *ex parte* figures. I take them from Mr. Giffard's "Life of Pitt," a book written in a totally different sense, and they are the best figures I can obtain. In 1784, according to the return, which is loose, but not very far from the mark, it is still said there were two Protestants for four Roman Catholics—that is to say, 60 Protestants for 120 Roman Catholics; therefore, you will observe, gentlemen, that under this penal system, beginning in 1672 with 45 Protestants for 120 Roman Catholics, that they had by 112 years of persecution amended—if it is to be called amended—the position of the Protestants so far as to have 60 instead of 45 Protestants to 120 Roman Catholics. At that time we began to relax the penal laws. In 1801—I now quote the authority of Mr. Musgrave, the historian of the Irish revolution, who is certainly a very thoroughgoing partisan—in 1801 the penal laws having now been materially relaxed, and the Roman Catholics even admitted to the elective franchise, he found that the Protestants were 40 to 120 Roman Catholics, having been 60 some 20 years before. We then went on and had further relaxation. We even admitted the Roman Catholics—and I am very thankful we did—to Parliament, and in 1834 we had another religious Census, and the proportion was now one Protestant to four Roman Catholics, or 30 Protestants to 120 Roman Catholics. Now, gentlemen, in 1861 it is true there is a slight improvement—it is a fractional improvement. I must get another denominator in order to exhibit it, I cannot exhibit it well upon the denominator of 120 that I have got. In 1834 the Protestants were a trifle under one to four; in 1861 they are a trifle over one to four—that is all the difference. But recollect what had happened in the meantime—that awful famine of 1847, and the enormous wholesale exportation of the poorer population—that is the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, across the Atlantic. Therefore, gentlemen, I say that although, casually, the return of 1861 is a trifle better than that of 1834, in reality, if you allow ever so moderately for the operation of these powerful causes, it is a worse return.

than that of 1834; and I reiterate the assertion that Protestantism, under the influence of this system, which we did once maintain in the form of penal laws—but then there was a kind of efficacy, at any rate a kind of brutal and bad efficacy attached to it—since we have relaxed those penal laws, while the system continues to be unjust, it has ceased to be effectual, and Protestantism has dwindled under its operation. Now, gentlemen, I must refer to one more point, which will, perhaps, require your attention, because I have been greatly found fault with for this statement, and I will show you the answer which has been made to me. I will take it from this pamphlet—["Short Notes on the Irish Church Question," by a Layman]:—"Mr. Gladstone insists that as a missionary Church the Irish Church has failed." I do insist with great regret, naturally, but at the same time with strong conviction. "In order to prove this he quoted Sir William Petty to show that in 1672 there were 800,000 Roman Catholics to 300,000 Protestants." Now comes the answer to me, and I think you will be somewhat amused when I unfold the meaning of it:—"But Mr. Gladstone kept back the fact that of these 300,000 Protestants only 100,000 were members of the Irish Church, and the remaining 200,000 Nonconformists." And therefore, they say it is true that the Protestants may have dwindled as a whole, but look at the relative numbers of the Church and the Nonconformists, and then you will see that the Church of Ireland has not failed at all, but has very largely increased her numbers. Well now, gentlemen, I think that will be a view of the matter entirely new to you; I think it will be new to my friends on the platform of all denominations. It appears, then, after all, that the Church of Ireland does not exist in Ireland for the purpose of maintaining the light and glory of the Reformation, as Mr. Gathorne Hardy says, but that the business of the Church of Ireland is to convert stray Nonconformists and bring them back to the fold. Now, gentlemen, this really is a discovery. It is a magnificent discovery. It seems to shift the whole state and position of affairs. It gives us a new "point of view," as they call it. It is a most serious matter if, after all the consideration we have given to this matter, which we thought lay mainly between the Church of Ireland and the people of Ireland, we are to be told that it does not lie between them at all; that it is admitted that the Church of Ireland has failed wholly, utterly, miserably as regards the people of Ireland—the mass of the people of Ireland who are Roman Catholics—but that it has had a magnificent success, and those unfortunate Presbyterians who were two to one to the Church people 200 years ago are now somewhat less than the Church people in number. Therefore, gentlemen, pray consider that it is an anti-Protestant propagandism you are invited to pursue. That is the answer they give; I believe it to be the only answer; but I must also tell you this, that if it were true it would not be a very good answer. I suspect the six or seven millions of Nonconformists in this country—in England—the three millions of Presbyterians in Scotland, and the half-million or more of Presbyterians in Ireland, would not be particularly well pleased at this new view of the position of the Church, the friends and advocates of which, in the days when things are quiet are apt to turn what is called the cold shoulder to the Presbyterians; but of late there are a portion of them, and particularly the active politicians, who make the most warm and moving appeals to

the Presbyterian body, and entreat them to put shoulder to shoulder and confront the enemy in the field in the name and for the sake of the interests of their common Protestantism. Now, gentlemen, the explanation is this—but I must not go at length into it. In Ireland, in the beginning of the seventeenth century—it is difficult, indeed, to trace minutely the confused ecclesiastical history of a country which at that time was but half-organised—but it is well known that a large portion of the parishes and incumbencies of the country, a very large portion indeed of the province of Ulster, and some portions, I believe, beyond it, were in the hands of Presbyterians. Of course, therefore, the Presbyterians counted at that time as a very large number in proportion to the numbers of the Church; and it is perfectly true up to a certain point that by the fact of becoming Episcopalian, by the fact of having an Episcopalian Government placed over these parishes, as the Episcopalian Government became uniform over the country, instead of having a Presbyterian Government placed over them, a number of persons came to be counted as Episcopalians who before that had been counted as Presbyterians. That is the explanation of it. There is no truth in the assertion that the Irish Church has been successful in putting down Dissent either by force or persuasion. It has been successful in putting down nothing; but it has been successful in putting up something. It has put up agitation; it has put up controversy; it has put up bitterness; it has put up, as I have shown, in comparison with Protestantism, the Roman Catholic religion, which has thriven, and does thrive, under that sense of civil injustice which makes all its professors who are loyal men rally round it with determined adherence. Gentlemen, our motto is—"Be just and fear not." Do you approve the motto or do you not? It may be that we have strong interests arrayed against us. Never mind. What we shall do, gentlemen, my hon. friend near me and I—we shall use the slender means in our power to lay out the truth and the reason of the case before you. Having done that, as we shall do it from place to place, we shall appeal to you for aid; we appeal to you to lay aside all timid fears and apprehensions, to be on your guard against mistake and delusion, to put on the courage of Englishmen—nay, more, I will add, to clothe yourselves with that spirit of equity which ought to distinguish every Christian, and to carry our cause onwards to a speedy triumph.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# CO-OPERATIVE MILL, LEIGH.

OCTOBER 20TH, 1868.

In addressing you to-night, the first duty, and not the least pleasant duty, I have to perform, is to thank you for the hearty reception you have given us to-day, both out of doors and in doors; and my second duty is to express my share of gratitude to the Co-operative Society at Leigh, which has supplied us with this spacious place of assemblage, and I will now, with your kind assistance and support, endeavour to do that which would not be possible except with such aid—namely, to address you upon some of the subjects which are at this moment of the deepest interest to yourselves and England. Gentlemen, the name of the Co-operative Society at Leigh induces me to say a few words upon a question which is the subject, at the present time, of a very national interest, and is, I think, likewise of a very needless alarm. I mean the question of the relations between capital and labour. There are those who consider that this is among the great difficulties—if it be not the greatest difficulty—that clouds the future of our country. I own I am not of that opinion. I have sufficient confidence in the good sense of my countrymen of all classes, and especially of the two great classes that are more immediately concerned, to feel a perfect conviction that, not perhaps without some occasional and local difficulty, but without any general or hopeless difficulty, they will find their way through the meshes and the mazes of that question to a satisfactory solution. Certainly, one class of measures to which I look with the greatest interest for the purpose of helping the attainment of that solution are the measures which, without removing the labouring man from the class of labouring men, nevertheless give him some of the sentiments and some of the interests of the capitalist. Don't suppose from what I have said that I am one who believes that the function of the retail tradesman

—the distributor of commodities—ever can be either permanently or beneficially supplanted—that I do not believe. I believe that the union of working men among themselves in co-operative societies may be extremely beneficial as a check upon the more ordinary method of manufacture—that of great capitalists, and of disturbing either the wholesale or retail tradesmen; but that it will supplant those methods I, for one, wholly disbelieve. And I think it but fair to say two things: on the one hand, I am convinced it is only in the very advanced of the labouring wage-earning classes that co-operation can be carried on to a beneficial extent, and it argues that in this particular neighbourhood the labouring classes are greatly advanced; but, on the other hand, the risks and responsibility of joint-stock companies are serious. I must own to you that although ever since my mind was given to commercial subjects I have been a pretty steady adherent to the principles of free trade, yet I have not had that unflinching faith in the principles of joint-stock companies, as offered to individual energy and enterprise, which I know has been entertained by many who are far greater authorities than I am myself. I hope, therefore, that the greatest caution will ever be exercised by the labouring classes with regard to joint-stock enterprise, and I may add every other class; but wherever their joint-stock enterprise succeeds, I heartily rejoice in it, and bid them God-speed. There is another mode, favoured, I know, by some highly intelligent men of this district, and to which I can't but wish an unqualified prosperity, and it is this mode—where private individuals, or a limited number of private individuals, carry on their business on the principle of joint-stock companies, and are enabled so to adjust their operations and accounts that they can contrive to give to the workpeople an interest in the proceeds. I know not, and it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to know, when that principle is capable of extension; but I believe that wherever it is capable of application it is one of the most beneficial methods of dealing with the difficulty which besets the question between capital and labour now presented to us. There is one other method to which I can but refer, although the name of the person connected with it—most honourably connected with it—a gentleman of foreign descent, is less known in this part of the country than in the country where he resides, and where his beneficial exertions have been particularly felt—I mean Mr. Mundella. He is a man who has devoted, at no small sacrifice, his time, and no common abilities and energies, in organising those methods of friendly and systematic communication between workmen and capitalists in the form of boards of arbitration, which, so far as the operation has yet been tried, has produced the most happy results. Gentlemen, I refer to that not as if I were competent to give a judgment that proceeds with much greater weight from practical men, nor because I believe we have as yet exhausted the whole catalogue of expedients for adjusting those difficulties which must necessarily arise in the natural and wholesome competition—for it is wholesome competition—between the capitalist and labourer in the division of the products of industry, but because I think they are hopeful indications of what we may expect under the teaching of experience, and that they go to warrant the sanguine opinion I have myself expressed, that although

this undoubtedly may be a serious problem, which would be dreadfully aggravated by narrow views or by angry passions—a problem demanding the closest and most careful attention that can be given to it by the most competent persons—yet it is a problem of which we may look for a satisfactory solution, and which we need not reckon among the difficulties that threaten the happiness and prosperity of our country. But I pass from that subject, and I wish to take this opportunity, seeing that we are favoured to-night, as upon former occasions, with the assistance of that powerful agency that disperses over England and over the world what is addressed to local audiences in connection with the occurrences of an election—I wish to take advantage of the presence of that agency. That purpose, perhaps, you may think a little personal, and you may possibly think it a little selfish; but it is this—I am at this moment overwhelmed with communications from correspondents of every rank and degree, of all circumstances and conditions, with relation to matters of controversy that it would be impossible to enumerate. Sometimes they ask me for answers which, having but twenty-four hours in one day, it is not possible for me to give, and sometimes they ask me to explain the points to which they refer at public meetings. Now, I wish to beg my correspondents, one and all, through the medium of this assembly, to be assured that their communications, most of which I can truly say are both friendly and intelligent, have the best consideration I can give to them, and that if I seem to neglect them it is only because of the greater pressure of other subjects, and of my duty, in occupying your time as I do, to occupy it with those questions which appear to be of the greatest and of the most commanding interest. Now, I will make another remark which is not personal, but local, and I can make it with pleasure because it concerns, not only ourselves, but those against whom we are pitted in this contest. We, gentlemen, in South-West Lancashire, are like our friends and our opponents in the other division, engaged for the moment in a pretty arduous contest; but, I rejoice to say that up to this time, so far as I can judge, in the South-Western division of the county it has been conducted with exemplary good humour. Everybody knows throughout Lancashire when a man enters into a contest he is in earnest, and means to do his best. On that side, gentlemen, we shall not be suspected; if we are, I trust our men will redeem us from the suspicion. But in other parts of this country I must say that it appears to me, to judge from placards, from letters, and from many communications that have reached me—it appears to me that the course pursued by our opponents has gone beyond the just limits of political warfare—that truth has been too much tampered with—that private life has been violently, insolently invaded—that violence and almost fury of language has been indulged in; and if I refer to these things it is for the purpose of congratulating you and others, paying a debt that is due to our opponents, when I say that whatever may take place beyond our borders—and into that I won't enter—I have not seen within those borders, on the one side or the other, the slightest disposition to trespass beyond the fair and just bounds of public controversy; and I humbly hope that for my own part I may do what I am sure you do—observe those bounds with the same care for the

future. I have made this preface because I am obliged to grapple pretty closely with the language of our opponents upon some matters of great public interest, but I wish to do so with the most frank expression of my personal respect, and deal with the argument, but not with the man apart from the politician. Gentlemen, yesterday week, in the town of Warrington, I drew attention at some length to the subject of the public expenditure, and I pointed out what appeared to me to be the main considerations necessary to be instilled into the minds of the electors at this juncture. Those considerations turned mainly upon this—that the investigation of the past was of secondary importance, but that the topics, however, which had been raised with respect to the past in no degree diminished the responsibility of those who are now in power for the rapid, and I think even alarming increase that has begun to take place in our expenditure, and that as regards that increase, not indeed the whole responsibility, but the chief responsibility of it, was to be charged upon the Ministers of the Crown, although it may be your opinion that the House of Commons is likewise to blame, and although I do not shrink from expressing my opinion that wherever there is sluggishness in the House of Commons it is because there is always a corresponding lethargy in the country. Gentlemen, I wish to take the opportunity of correcting a verbal inaccuracy into which I fell. You must have seen it stated that there was a great increase of expenditure in the year 1859, which is perfectly true, and again in the year 1860, which is perfectly true. In speaking of the expenditure in the year 1860, I said that that was due to a war in China which had broken out, not under us, but under the instructions given by the Government that had preceded us, and in connection, as I said, with Lord Elgin's going to the mouth of the Peiho to sign a treaty with China. In my haste, when I said Lord Elgin, I ought to have said his brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, and I ought to have said that he went to ratify, not to have signed, a treaty with China. These errors I ought to correct, because it was supposed I gave an opinion upon the policy. I gave no opinion upon the policy whatever. That is a large matter to discuss. What I wished to point out was this—that the *de facto* cost of that war had arisen in connection with the operations of a former Government, and not with our Government, and the fault I found at that moment was not with those who had given instructions, but the fault was with those who have at this time endeavoured to persuade the country that the cost of that war, which had grown from transactions entirely belonging to a former Government, was due to the Government of Lord Palmerston instead of being due to their predecessors. But, gentlemen, asking that you will excuse me for this digression, I come to a matter which lies more nearly at close quarters. It is not denied that £3,000,000 have been added to the expenditure in two years—to the permanent expenditure, gentlemen, not to the occasional expenditure, not to the expenditure brought about by the emergencies of what we hoped was a momentary and an incidental war, but to the permanent expenditure of the country connected with the maintenance of its ordinary establishments. But, gentlemen, that fact stands. I rejoice that it stands, and not only so, but that it has been brought home to the mind of the people of this country. For believe me, gentlemen, that

to a question of praise or blame, whether you think censure belongs to us, or whether you think censure belongs to our opponents, I am comparatively indifferent, though I do not say I am absolutely indifferent, provided the effect of these discussions will be, as I have good hope it will, to bring about in future, if you, gentlemen, do your duty, some more careful stewardship of the finances of this country. Well, now, gentlemen, one of our honourable opponents meets my charge, not by vindicating the present Administration, but by saying that it was my duty to have prevented this expenditure, and I have received to-day some verses which are the production of a Conservative working man. I think they do great credit to his ingenuity; and, moreover, I value these verses very much, because we ought always to value greatly all specimens of a species that is rare. You know, perhaps, that a few years ago a mammoth was discovered frozen in the ice upon the shores of the White Sea. An enormous value was set upon the bones of that mammoth, and would have been set upon its flesh if it had not been that the moment it was thawed the dogs got at it and devoured it. Now, my wish is to preserve—to preserve in ice if you like, or in any way you like—the effusions of a Conservative working man. But, however, he is a very ingenious fellow. I recognise him as a man and a brother, of the same flesh and blood, and he states this objection extremely well. These are his verses, gentlemen:—

"Now you are lecturing thro' the land
And leading working men astray,
By telling them things were not good
For which they did their money pay.
We wish to know, Sir, how it is
To oppose these measures you did not strive,
While there was on your side, you say,
A majority of sixty-five."

I don't think Mr. Turner stated his point badly, but I think the working man has stated it better still. Still, I must endeavour to pull the working man to pieces a little. He says I said I had a majority of 65. When did I say so? He says so; but I never said it. It would be very difficult, indeed, gentlemen, between the time of the general election and the time of the Resolutions on the Irish Church, to state what the majority in this House of Commons was or where it lay. "But," he says, "why did you not object to this expenditure?" My answer is twofold. In the first place I must tell you this, that the great questions of expenditure connected with the maintenance of the army and navy are questions of the life or death of the Government, and when you challenge a hostile issue in the House of Commons upon such a question as whether, for example, 40 new ships are to be built for the defence of the country, it is equivalent to moving a vote of want of confidence in the Government. That being so, I tell you plainly that our resignation of office in 1866 made it our duty to give to those who succeeded us a chance of dealing with the question of Reform; and, however we might object to their mode of proceeding in regard to the public expenditure, the paramount and commanding interests connected with the franchise and the Constitution made it impossible for us to take issue with the Government upon questions of that order. Short of taking issue with the Government, I tell you that we did object. I

could show you the passages in *Hansard*, if you wished it, where I have drawn down on myself the wrath—and a terrible wrath, no doubt—of several members of the present Cabinet for finding fault with and impeaching what I thought their most needless and wanton expenditure in naval and military matters. Not only was it what was said by me, but I have the happiness of sitting in the House of Commons in constant connection with many of the ablest men in that House, and my friends Mr. Childers, Mr. Stansfeld, and other gentlemen perfectly competent, did arrange with me and carry on in connection with me that plan of questioning the Government on that scheme of building 30 or 40 unarmoured ships for the purpose of maintaining the distant services at various parts of the globe. Gentlemen, we did endeavour to act on the Government and to produce an impression on the House; but the House—and I do not find fault with it—was unwilling to enter into matters which, though important, were secondary to the main question at issue. You have heard something this year about meetings in my sitting-room. We had meetings in my sitting-room to consider seriously whether we should venture this year to ask the vote of the House of Commons on the state of the public expenditure, and we deliberately decided that we should not, because the answer would have been this—It would have been felt impossible to interfere with the progress of the Reform Bills, and we should have procured from the House of Commons an adverse vote on questions of expenditure, which would have been given probably from motives extraneous to questions of expenditure, but which would have been damaging to the permanent prospects of the cause of public economy. I say, therefore, that on this great question we went as far as we could—as far as we dare, as far as we should have been justified, with regard to your interests, to go—in declaring our opinion of the conduct of the Government. It is idle and untrue to say that these views and proceedings of the Government were not questioned, as anyone can satisfy himself who chooses to consult the records of Parliament, while it is quite true that the sum total of the public expenditure depends on these greater subjects. It is also true that there are many subjects less important, but not altogether unimportant, on which it may at times be possible to question or challenge the proceedings of the Government. With respect to these minor subjects, I beg to assure you that we saw the opportunity—we did question them, both by debate and division. And here I come to my answer to Mr. Turner, and my answer to my friend the working man, and it is that whenever we did question them, there was Mr. Turner in his place to vote against us. I will give you an example. We had a very good opportunity offered us last year. What you have to fear when you raise these questions of economy is that the supporters of the Government will denounce them as party questions, and will in that way envelope them in a cloud of prejudice. But we saw on the notice-paper this year a notice which would have saved the country a certain sum of money—I think some £20,000 a year—perhaps more. It was to the effect that the expenses of certain Commissions relating to copyholds, enclosure, and tithe which had been charged on the Consolidated Fund should be borne, not by the State, but by the persons who took benefit from the operation of those Commissions. This

motion, which we thought a very rational motion, was made by Mr. Goldney. Mr. Goldney is a man of much intelligence, who sits on the Government side of the House. Thus we had an opportunity, because, Mr. Goldney being the mover of the motion, and not acting in concert with us, it was not possible to cast upon it the discredit of being a party motion. Well, what did we do? We supported Mr. Goldney. And what happened? We carried our motion by one—not by sixty-five, let my friend the working man observe. We carried our motion by one. The noes against the vote were 105—that was in favour of Mr. Goldney's motion; and the ayes, 104 in favour of the Government. So keen were the Government to resist this reduction of expenditure, that, after being thus beaten in a division, some rumour went abroad that one or two members had come into the House that they might, if they divided again, obtain a different issue. They divided again, and again they were beaten by one. In the first division we were 105 to the Government's 104; in the second division we were 106 to the Government's 105. Gentlemen, I need not tell you I was among the 106. But who was among the 104 of the first division and the 105 of the second?—Mr. Charles Turner, member for South Lancashire. Therefore I tell Mr. Turner, with all possible respect, that one of the reasons why we could not operate the reductions we desired was that he was always in his place to oppose them. But there is another form of proceeding. I have given you one specimen because I think one practical specimen is worth a great deal of vague and general statement. I will now go to another point connected with the same important subject. I told our friends at Warrington that there appeared to me to have grown under the present Government a system of what I called, in regard to the public expenditure, making things pleasant all round. That means going from town to town, granting what this community wants, granting what that community wants, granting what the other community wants, and leaving out of sight that huge public which unfortunately has not got the voices and the advocates ready always to defend it against these local and particular claims, but of which it is our highest boast that we seek to be the advocates and the champions. I told you that was the system pursued. I told you of a case where a candidate in the Government interest this moment goes to a constituency, and complains that he could not get a Liberal Government to surrender for £2,500 a debt due to Government of £20,000, but that when a Conservative Government came in, then, indeed, the weather had changed greatly in his favour, and he found there was no difficulty at all in arranging the matter. Thereupon he says, "Return me to Parliament, and not a member of the Liberal party." That is the operation which is constantly going on, and that is the operation which I call on you to baffle and defeat. But even since yesterday week I have had the clearest proof, which I will now give, of the truth of what I then said. What I then said was that this Government and its adherents are constantly endeavouring to create electioneering interests by means of local expenditure defrayed out of the public purse. This is my charge. I stated that on Monday week, and what did I hear before the week was out? There came to me a letter from Whitby. Whitby is a town

in the politics of which I take great interest at this moment. Whitby is a seaport on the eastern coast, and the Conservative party in Whitby not having a chance of winning the election by any fair means, or a chance in any way whatever, I believe, in their desperation immediately publish a placard, the purport of which has been sent to me, but not the thing itself. It says, "Who prevented the creation of a harbour of refuge at Whitby? The Liberals. Who wanted to spend four millions in making harbours of refuge on the eastern coast? The Conservatives." That is the sort of thing going on from time to time, aye, and pretty constantly too. (A voice: "We'll stop it.") I am much obliged to you, Sir; and let me add, if it be an allowable mode of speech, you are very much obliged to yourself, because by sending my friend (Mr. Grenfell) and myself to Parliament you will be doing that which is good to the public and that which is good to you as an individual member of the public. Now, I had never said that it was wrong to assist in the foundation of harbours of refuge. Those Conservatives at Whitby ought to have known, if they knew anything about it, that the Government of Lord Palmerston passed through Parliament a Bill for giving judicious assistance instead of wild extravagance and lavish assistance for such purposes. At Newcastle and down to the mouth of the Tyne are probably the most magnificent marine works that were ever undertaken by a local community, and they have never run to such an absurd extreme as to say that under no circumstances will the State recognise the public interest in the formation of local works. It is proper that local works should be properly assisted, but what I do say is this—that it is an unjust plan to stimulate local cupidity to feed upon the public purse; and that that plan, supported and sustained by the Conservative party generally and by many of her Majesty's present Ministers, was resisted by the Government of Lord Palmerston; and that, although the House of Commons adopted it by an address to the Crown, we refused to act on the address of the House of Commons. It is well to get the people of Whitby, who are acting on local interests, to find fault with us because we stood up for the public interest; but what is said by our friends Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross of their friends the Conservatives of Whitby, who are boasting of the expenditure of many millions of money, for the fancied and supposed purpose of doing good to one, or two, or three, or four, or five ports, on the surface of the coast of England at an enormous and almost extravagant charge to the country at large? If you want to be served you must draw the distinction between those who want to serve you and those who don't, and if the electors of South Lancashire and of the country generally are contented to allow this method of expenditure to go on, this Continental system of feeding the desires of classes and portions of the community at the expense of the whole—it is idle for you to satisfy yourselves with vague and general promises, such as everybody can give you by the bushel, of being desirous to promote all reasonable economy. If that is to be the system on which public finance is to be administered, you must be prepared to resign all hopes of remission of taxation, even in good years, and in bad years you must look for a steady augmentation of the income-tax. That is the state of the case as far as it is necessary to

enter into it with respect to the public expenditure. Gentlemen, I am afraid you have of late years suffered from the vicissitudes of trade, and I am told that there are found those who think that trade has suffered in consequence of the Treaty of Commerce with France. If that be so I should not scruple to say that my solemn duty is to prosecute in all matters of trade and commerce the interests of the country at large. There were places—at all events there was one place, the town of Coventry—with regard to which it certainly happened that the French Treaty did arrive at a moment which, in many respects, was a moment of severe pressure. The great cause of the pressure was the stoppage of the American demand in consequence of the civil war in that country. France exports silk goods to the American markets much more largely than we do. France being stopped from sending her goods to America when there was comparatively no demand, did avail herself of the Treaty of Commerce to throw considerable portions of goods on the British markets. But what goods were they? As far as I can understand, they were not the goods in which you deal; you are not producers, like the dealers of Coventry, of light fancy goods. You are not the makers of riband. You are not, like the weavers of Spitalfields, the makers of goods of another class, the richest velvets and highly-figured silks. If I am rightly informed, your trade is rather like the staple trade of Manchester, consisting of solid and substantial goods. You are not importers from France, but exporters to the world in general; and if France had the power of competing with you in their markets without any difference in your favour, it is not to the admission of her goods that you owed the distress under which you suffered, but to this, that the door was bolted against you in America through which you had been accustomed to find vent for your productions and the fluctuations of trade. That is a question of argument as I understand it, and scarcely can be discussed as if it were a matter of simple fact. It is not possible to escape the fluctuations of trade, but this it is possible to point out, that the fluctuations of trade are much less under a system of freedom than under a system of monopoly. Of this we have proof in our own history. Many of us are old enough to recollect the crises of trade brought about by trade causes. Before free trade was established, very frequently distress in the manufacturing districts used to follow bad harvests and monetary crises. You have this advantage under the system of freedom, that you can form calculations with better security than when you trusted to artificial restrictions. You know not what causes may arise to bring distress upon you, but it is experience by which in the long run these questions must be determined; and I speak in the hearing of those who are able to judge when I affirm confidently that for the last 20 years, setting aside the cotton famine, which is a matter of a different character—neither free trade nor any other trade could prevent civil wars—but speaking of the ordinary revolutions of trade, the vast extension of our commerce which we have seen throughout the country has been attended, not with an increase of fluctuation, but with an increase of stability not less remarkable than the increase of scale.

I have hardly left myself time to say a few words on the question of the Irish Church, which never can be omitted at an election meeting.

like this. I cannot do more than state a summary of the leading propositions on which I have presumed to dwell at other places. I made it my first duty to point out to the people of this county that the substantial question which you have to determine is this, whether you will have one Established Church or none, or whether you will have many Church Establishments in Ireland or none. I think I showed that when the Government proceeded to disclose deliberately its policy for Ireland, that policy did include a regular increase of endowments to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the establishment of a Roman Catholic University at the expense of the State, and a plain declaration that there was no objection to place the Roman Catholics on nearly the same footing as the Church now established, provided it were done at the public charge, and not by withdrawing the property of the present Church Establishment. Since I spoke Her Majesty's Government has got a new ally in the person of the *Quarterly Review*. Many of you will recollect that about this time last year there was a remarkable paper in that review, entitled "The Conservative Surrender," in which any words used by the Opposition or Liberal party are watery and faint compared with the blasting, withering, and scorching scorn which this writer in the *Review* bestowed on the Government. But now the Conservative surrender itself has surrendered: there is a new article in the *Review* in which having blackened the Government twelve months ago with every epithet the ingenuity of man could extract from the vocabulary to destroy the last rag of its character and the last hope of prosperity and success, the article winds up by saying that now that an election is taking place the result will be the return of a decidedly Conservative majority for the Government. This is the state of things at which we have arrived. I may refer to it because I do not think the judgment of that or any other review, or the judgment of any man or of any united body of men, can contravene the judgment of public opinion, and because this *Quarterly Review* itself has been for so many years one of the loudest and most open-mouthed advocates for paying the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and, of course, the Presbyterian clergy along with them. I will not raise any prejudice against any portion of my fellow-citizens in respect of religion; as long as they are good citizens they ought to be dealt with in the same manner; but this had been the favourite nostrum of that particular political review which has been an organ of great importance, and has spoken in past years for the mass of the Tory party. And, gentlemen, this is your choice. Now, you will observe, on the part of the Government no plan is opposed to our plan; our plan is to remove and put an end to the Establishment, the plan of the Government is to resist our plan and nothing else. The Government of the country has no plan and no policy to offer you. I say it is utterly useless to talk of what is called reforming abuses in the Church of Ireland, and the report of the Commissioners that has lately been presented proves and demonstrates the total inutility of any such scheme. I have ventured also to show this—that under that system which we have maintained for the last 300 years, and especially during the last 100 years, though we have been removing by degrees the pressure of the unjust and even cruel laws by which we kept down for some time the population of Ireland, Protestantism has been dwindling away, not-

withstanding that we maintained our Church Establishment in possession of all the ecclesiastical property of the country. Gentlemen, this, in my opinion, is a matter of the utmost gravity, because it appears to me that it is perfectly idle to call those who would put an end to the Establishment in Ireland the adversaries of Protestantism unless it can be shown that the maintenance of the present system has resulted in benefit to Protestantism. We assert the direct contrary, and we support our doctrine not by vague and still less by unmannerly exclamations, but by showing, from the public records that are accessible to us at different periods, that the number of Protestants in Ireland relatively to the Roman Catholics steadily diminished for a century or more, and that if that diminution has been stopped within the last few years, it has been stopped owing to the operation of that fearful visitation of Providence, the Irish famine, which decimated the Roman Catholic population, and owing to those social agencies which carry them by hundreds and thousands to the shores of the United States. Gentlemen, every other plea that has been set up is as idle as those pleas. When it is said that the maintenance of the Church Establishment in Ireland mitigates religious animosity, I contend that it inflames religious animosity. There is no country where men of the Irish race are placed side by side with men of the English race, and where they do not get along tolerably except in Ireland. Then it is said that the Roman Catholics would never be satisfied, and would demand the repeal of the Union. Why, gentlemen, that was the reason that was always urged against every moderate and rational plan of Parliamentary reform. It was said, "The people will not be satisfied without universal suffrage and without their having a republic." In point of fact, it is the old principle on which our antagonists systematically ask that you will refuse a request which is reasonable because it may be followed by one that is unreasonable, whereas the principle on which we desire to act is this—grant our requests which are reasonable, and then you will have greater power to resist the requests which are unreasonable. In saying this do not let me be supposed to insinuate, for I do not believe, that there is that disposition on the part of the people of Ireland to make these unreasonable requests. It is in my opinion cruel to say that the people of Ireland, alienated as a large part of them may now be, cannot be mollified, cannot be conciliated, by justice. I know of nothing that warrants us for a moment in treating them as unworthy to be associated with us. We have never thought them unworthy of serving the purpose of our convenience. Lancashire has not been ashamed to profit by their labour. England has not been ashamed to profit by their valour. In the best time of your army one-half of its ranks have been filled by Irishmen, and after thus turning them to account—after thus getting out of them all we can, are we, forsooth, brave and chivalrous England, to cast upon them a look of scorn and say, "Reason and justice have no empire over you. You are the creatures of passion and caprice, and therefore we will deny to you the rights of equality and freedom"? I repudiate with all the force of which I am capable doctrines so unjust to them, so unworthy of yourself, so unworthy of that glorious past of our history on which our Conservative opponents are sometimes fond of dwelling, and so unworthy of the glorious future towards which, as I hope and trust, and believe, with your aid, the Liberal policy will lead us.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# TOWN HALL, ORMSKIRK.

OCTOBER 21ST, 1868.

I WILL follow the example of my friend Mr. Hill, and without preface upon matters of form or ceremony, at once proceed to say that I address you as that portion of the South-West Lancashire constituency which perhaps may best, upon the whole, be taken to represent the important agricultural interest of this county, and I do not think that either my hon. and respected friend Mr. Grenfell or myself have any cause to feel abashed in appearing before those of you who are connected with the agricultural interests of the land. There has been, indeed, a class of politicians in England who have been called the farmers' friends, and their great characteristic has been this, that they have always encouraged the farmer to lean upon props that broke under his hand and pierced it, and to call for remedies for his difficulties that were totally unattainable. On the other hand, there has been a class of persons known as the adherents of free trade, who have ever held this language to the agricultural and various other interests, that no one of them had any right to be supported at the expense of the rest of the community. But, at the same time, amidst much unbelief and much mockery, they told the agricultural interests of this country—and I am bound to say that I don't believe the agricultural interest of Lancashire ever wanted much telling—they told the agricultural interests of the country in other parts, where more delusion prevailed, that the true source of their strength, as of the strength of us all, was in the utmost possible freedom of industry and commerce. You know the state of things in this district. You know the markets on which you depend. You know whether the great market of Liverpool, with which the whole of this neighbourhood is so much connected, is or is not now a larger market than it was in times of monopoly and restriction. It would be idle, for

it would seem to argue a supposition on my part of your being ignorant of matters which you know perfectly, if I were to enter into details on these subjects, interesting and profoundly important as they are. In considering matters that are of practical importance to the county ratepayers, the mind of Parliament has of late years been very much turned, and I think very naturally and properly turned, to the question of local expenditure. Now the local expenditure of this country is very considerable, and not only has it always been very considerable, but of late it has been subjected to great and rapid increase. I am by no means prepared to pass any general censure upon the needs and purposes for which the additions have been made to the local expenditure, and so far as my very limited knowledge goes, I do not believe that you have any reason to feel dissatisfied with the spirit in which the local expenditure, and the county rate particularly, is administered in this county, or in this portion of the county; therefore it is by no means in the way of censure that I have in my address to you ventured to tell you that I think the time has come when there ought to be a change in the law. Our law with respect to local rates and expenditure is, like many other of our laws, far from being symmetrical or scientific in its construction. In the parishes we all must agree that the ultimate burden of the rates comes upon the landlord. Whether they be parochial rates or borough rates, they will at last find their way to the landlord. However, the sole power of voting you know in the parish vestries is with the ratepayer, and if the landlord happens not to be an occupier, he has no control whatever over the rates. Well, I do not know that there is any very great evil in that, although it appears to be a somewhat anomalous arrangement; but, as regards the county rate, the case is notably inverted, because there, although again the rate ultimately finds its way to the landlord, yet in the county as in the parish, the rate comes in the first instance upon the occupier, who is apt to feel the pinch at a time when the rates are growing, but he would get the first benefit when the rates are diminished. The persons who administer the rates are the magistrates of the county, in the choice of whom he has no share or part whatever. Now, gentlemen, I own that I am of opinion that representation in all these matters of expenditure is a good and sound principle. It is the old principle of our Constitution generally, both Imperial and local. I am friendly to it, not because there is no clamour on the subject, but I am friendly, because it would give a control to the ratepayers in the choice of their representatives, over the expenditure of the rates by those who pay them. It implies no disparagement of those who have exercised their discretion, but I believe the operation would be good, and would tend to enlighten the public mind on some difficult and threatening questions that are coming forward as to the relation between the local and the Imperial expenditures and the expediency of throwing the local rates upon the public treasury.

I now pass from that subject, and will address you upon another—one of great public interest in the present contest—that which relates to the condition of Ireland, and particularly of the Church of Ireland. Often as I have had the honour of addressing my constituents upon this matter,

the subject is by no means exhausted, for here I must own that our opponents endeavour to make up for the want weight in their objections by the number which they make. Therefore it is necessary for us to make draughts on your patience to bury those objections, in the full confidence that the result of these discussions will be the establishment of truth. I wish to say a few words as to the view I take of the attitude held at this time by the different influential bodies, and more especially the different religious bodies, as to the future of this great question. If you look first at the House of Commons, you cannot but see the manner in which it has been treated by the present House of Commons, which seems to many a clear indication of the events that are about to arise; and at this moment I am not addressing you as Liberal politicians—although nearly the whole of those present may probably be Liberal politicians—but I am endeavouring to lodge an appeal to the good sense of my countrymen, independently of political distinctions. The Parliament that is now sitting was elected in a period of extraordinary calm. The moderation of sentiment by which it was characterised in some instances may have been justly thought to proceed from lethargy and torpor, and yet that Parliament, upon receiving the appeal that was made to it, and, in spite of the opposition of the executive Government, has passed at once by large majorities a Bill, I will venture to say, by far the most important of any Bill which upon a constitutional subject has ever been passed by any Opposition in any period of our Parliamentary career. And observe, gentlemen, the mode of opposition that was adopted. The other day there was sent to me, among many documents that reached me, a lecture delivered by a gentleman—I believe a clergyman from the sister island—against the disestablishment of the Irish Church. He had migrated to this country for the purpose of lecturing on that subject, and you will not be surprised to learn that the general colouring of his lecture was warm. We, gentlemen, were pretty smartly dealt with, so far as epithets would go, in the course of the lecture; but the climax of the lecturer's eloquence and of his indignation was arrived at when he came to consider, not the conduct of the assailants, but the conduct of defenders of the Irish Church. He did not scruple to say that if our object was attained, it would be owing, not to the skill or determination with which we had made the assault, but to the half-hearted, feeble, and cowardly manner—these are not my words, gentlemen, they are the words, or the equivalents of the words, of the lecturer—in which what was called the defence was conducted. Now, observe what has happened. The highest authority—the Prime Minister—has said, in a written document, that the consequences of the disestablishment of the Irish Church would be much more formidable to this country than those of a foreign conquest. These are the written words of the present Prime Minister. My Resolutions, therefore, proposed something more formidable than foreign conquest. And how were they opposed? They were met by a motion which was the deliberate result of all the counsels and examinations of the Cabinet, moved by Lord Stanley, to the effect that a question of so much importance had better be postponed till next Parliament. Now, when, on the one hand, you are told by the Government that the matter was more ruinous and destructive than that of foreign conquest, and when the

only remedy they had to offer was the suggestion that this question, more formidable than foreign conquest, should be dealt with early in the next Parliament, instead of at that time, every man of sense may see that there is a half-heartedness, and perhaps an uncertainty of counsel, a want of concord as to what should be the course of action on the part of those who call themselves the defenders of the Irish Church, that would, as my friend the lecturer says, be fatal to any cause on the face of the earth. After speaking of the House of Commons, I must say that I do not look with any dismay to the attitude of the House of Lords upon this question. I may regret, and I do regret very much, the attitude taken by some particular peers, and even by one or two who have been considered and consider themselves as faithful adherents of what they call the old Liberal creed. Lord Overstone, for example, a gentleman of conspicuous skill and talent in the disposal of all monetary questions, has felt constitutional scruples with respect to the Irish Church. Far be it from me to question for one moment the honour or character of any man. If I did so I should only expose myself to most just blame; but this I think it fair to say, that when gentlemen claim your assent in opposing us upon the ground that they adhere to the Liberal creed, I very naturally, who have certainly no better claim to the title of Liberal than other men, and perhaps a worse claim—I very naturally look back to those former facts of public life and history in which my name has been associated with Liberal measures: and, as I recollect very well, at the time of the Treaty of Commerce with France, and at the time when we made great onward strides in the commercial and financial policy which has received the approval even of the present Government since they came into office,—at that time Lord Overstone thought it necessary to declare in the House of Lords that he looked upon the manner in which the commercial legislation of this country was conducted as fatal to the credit and prosperity of the country; and therefore if the prophecies of Lord Overstone were so very considerably baulked of their effect upon that great occasion, it is excusable in me, at any rate, who was then, as now, the main object of the censure, to console myself a little by looking back to the period, and to the results which have since followed, and to say within my own mind, "As it then was, so it now will be, and the present prophets of ruin and disaster will hereafter be compelled to smile upon the beneficial results of the policy that was then opposed." Gentlemen, I come now to two bodies, which I shall take together—the Nonconformists of this country and the Presbyterians of Scotland. I do not include the Wesleyans, because I will refer to them separately. I think there never was a time when the Nonconformist body of this country and the Presbyterian body in Scotland were more heartily and cordially united than now in the support of the policy which we profess in reference to the Established Church of Ireland. I mention this for the purpose of saying that I feel that the assent and adhesion of these bodies are like an unassailable bulwark and wall built up around us to fortify us, if we wanted fortifications, against those who accuse us of being the enemies, forsooth, of the Protestant religion. They pay a very bad compliment to the instinct of the Nonconformists of England and the shrewd and canny Presbyterians of Scotland, who think that they have not got the power of scenting enmity to Protestantism; for

I apprehend, if Protestantism has determined, devoted, thorough-going uncompromising adherents, these men—seven or eight millions of them—are the very men to whom that title belongs, without any disparagement to the others to whom it also belongs. Now, gentlemen, the Wesleyans likewise, I believe, have assumed an attitude upon this subject on which I may remark with some satisfaction. I will not presume to say that there is the same unanimity among them—the same approach to unanimity—because I think that would be too much to say; but when you recollect how very stiffly the Wesleyans in former times have as a body adhered to the principle of national Church establishments, we must not be amazed if they do not all of them at the same moment open their eyes to the grave and weighty considerations which make it impolitic and unjust to maintain a State Establishment in Ireland. Great progress has been made among them, and my belief is that the majority—probably the great majority—of that very influential body will be found supporting the candidates of the Liberal party at the elections which are now about to be held. I do not feel that I come upon at all more tender ground when from the Nonconformists of this country I pass to the Irish bishops and clergy, for I do not pass to them with the view of expressing any disappointment at the conduct which they have in general pursued; on the contrary, it appears to me—although, of course, there have been exceptions—that we have considerable reason to anticipate that a large portion of that body will be disposed, and disposed while there is yet time, to take the path that wisdom and prudence dictate. A very considerable number of persons—aye, and some very eminent persons—in the Church of Ireland have opened their eyes to the certainty of that which is about to arrive, and, as I believe, are carefully, soberly thinking in what manner they can best meet the crisis. Now, gentlemen, no one can be more determined or uncompromising in the character of the language he uses than I am when I speak of my hostility to the Irish Church as a National Establishment. There are no words too strong, provided they be within the limits of decorum and propriety, to state that hostility. I draw a broad distinction between the Establishment and the Church, but, even as regards the Establishment, this I feel—that we are bound to consult in our mode of procedure the dictates of equity and fairness. And there is one thing, gentlemen, that I will be no party to doing, and that is to destroying the Irish Church Establishment by what I call, or what the doctors would call, the method of depletion—bleeding it to death. I believe that is one of the most cruel kinds of death to which you can put a living creature. I rather think, but I have not time to look at any books, that in the persecutions of the most cruel periods of the Inquisition bleeding to death was one kind of punishment that was invented, and unless I am much mistaken, we have had a great discussion in the newspapers, not many months ago, as to the method of preparing veal for the tables of the rich, in which likewise the process of depletion was adopted, and that is a most cruel method of operation. Gentlemen, if the Irish Church does not take care, that is the method in which she will be dealt with, that is the method in which her friends are disposed to deal with her. Forty years ago the Irish Church had 22 bishops. Now the Irish Church has 12 bishops. The Commissioners recommend

that the Irish Church shall have eight bishops, but the Commissioners' recommendations are not thought strong enough, and it is probable that the Government will improve upon that a little, and they will most likely suggest six, or five, bishops. I ask you, gentlemen, if that is not a process of bleeding to death. Now, that which cheers me and that which pleases me in the attitude of the Irish clergy—and I do not exclude the bishops, at any rate not all of them—is this, that I think that they are beginning to see under the pressure of events the clear distinction that it is in their power to draw between the national Establishment and the spiritual Church, and that this idea is gradually planting and forming itself in their minds, that they will not for the sake of the national Establishment have the spiritual Church bled to death. Consequently, gentlemen, I believe we may look forward to a considerable amount of concurrence on their part in meeting that which I believe is inevitable, whether they concur or not, but that which undoubtedly will be effected with much greater satisfaction to us all in proportion as those who are the immediate subjects of the operation shall be willing to deal with us in an amicable manner for the adjustment and settlement of its details. Gentlemen, I have spoken of the Irish Church, and there are certainly some strong declarations which have been made by eminent men—among others by the present Archbishop of Dublin—against the removal of the Irish national Establishment of religion. His language is very strong. His arguments from astronomy are particularly pointed, and altogether his conclusions are of a somewhat appalling character. Now, I want to quote the dead Archbishop of Dublin against the living Archbishop of Dublin. There was a very fine story of a man who was once famous—the great Duke of Ormond—whose son was dead, who said that he preferred his dead son to any living son on earth. And in this way I will match the dead Archbishop against the living one. Archbishop Whately, a man whose name was highly respected, did not admit that in the sense of political economy the Irish Church was a burden. I think he was wrong. But, however, that makes his declaration the more remarkable; and this is his declaration taken from his life, published by his daughter:—"The establishment of a Protestant Church in Ireland should be viewed, though no burden, yet as a grievance,—as being an insult." And now for the method of bleeding to death. If you were to cut off three-fourths of the revenue and then three-fourths of the remainder, you would not have advanced one step forward towards conciliation as long as the Protestant Church is called the National Church; and my belief is, gentlemen, that there are many of the clergy in Ireland, and that there are some of the dignified clergy, perhaps some bishops in Ireland, who are not very far from agreeing with that sentiment of Archbishop Whately. Gentlemen, in the same way it is not difficult to say that I look hopefully, though that may appear bold, at the attitude of the English clergy with regard to this matter. It is quite true that in the last Session of Parliament the body of the Bishops of England voted against the Bill which was introduced to stop all new appointments in the Irish Church. There were two exceptions, two marked exceptions, at the least. Some might have been absent from other causes, but there

were two whose absence must have been deliberate. One of them was Dr. Thirlwall, the Bishop of St. David's, one of the most masculine, powerful, and luminous intellects that have for generations been known among the Bishops of England. The other was a bishop of this diocese, the Bishop of Chester—a man who is best described by a monosyllabic epithet—that epithet is "wise"—a man whose wisdom, however, and whose caution, are not greater than his loyalty, and whom the longer he remains among you the more you will esteem and love. It is impossible not to perceive that the attitude of the English clergy in general—though I am thankful to say, not only with many exceptions, but with many marked exceptions, of persons who are among the best and among the ablest of their number—the attitude of the clergy of the Established Church in general—is hostile to this measure, and it is hostile, in my opinion, not because a very large portion of those who oppose it can, to their own minds, justify the existence of the Irish Church Establishment, if it stood alone, but because they apprehend the consequences of its fall upon the Established Church of England. Now, gentlemen, don't let me pretend to say that if the consequences of this measure were to be injurious to the Church of England, I should on that account for one moment feel myself justified in withholding from my fellow-subjects, the people of Ireland, what appeared to me to be their clear rights. That is not so. I am persuaded that such a course as that would indeed, in the long run, be most detrimental to the Church of England; for I believe the existence of the Church of England to be of necessity associated with no injustice, and very sorry indeed should I be to see it placed on a foundation that would involve its passing over to a different character. But I wish to point out to you that this idea—that because the Irish Established Church ought not to exist, therefore the English Established Church is to be done away with—is an idea which may have been honestly prompted and propagated by the fears and prejudices of some, but has no foundation in the solid judgment of the community. I cannot go as far as those who say it is necessary to maintain an Established Church in order to secure the possession of religious liberty. That I look upon as an idle and baseless doctrine. The foundations of religious liberty are laid with perfect certainty and solidity on the principles of universal toleration and equality of religious rights. And this is no mere opinion of mine; for we have only to look across the water, to look at the United States of America, which have no Established Church either connected with the Federal Government, or connected with the State Governments, and where, at the same time, it is entirely undeniable that the most perfect religious liberty is enjoyed. But if there be some who have a prejudice against the United States because they think it is not fair to quote the example of a Republic—though for my part I am always ready to quote the example of any Government whatsoever on points where it can be made available for our instruction—but if that be their feeling, let them with me simply cross the St. Lawrence into Canada. Canada is under a monarchical Government. Canada has no semblance of an Established Church. Canada has passed Acts of Parliament, the very preamble of which recites that it is desirable

to put an end to all semblance of connection between Church and State in that country, and has acted on those principles. Yet, who is there that for one moment will pretend to say that religious liberty does not prevail in Canada? That was a country somewhat resembling, but far less aggravated—somewhat resembling the case of Ireland. Resembling it in this important point—that the members of the Church of England formed a very small proportion of the whole community. And here, gentlemen, I must digress for one moment to revert to what I stated just now about the case of many eminent and excellent clergymen, and even bishops, in connection with the Anglican Church, who are favourable to the policy which we, the Liberal party, recommend. Among them I can't fail to notice one, little known probably to you, for his sphere of action was far distant—Bishop Fulford, of Montreal, the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in Canada—a gentleman I had the honour to know, and whom no one could know without respecting or revering, or without perceiving that he was a man of most solid and piercing understanding and of most commanding qualities. That gentleman, who died but two months ago, is the bishop under whom the Canadian Church has undergone this process of disestablishment. I had the honour of seeing him in London during the past year, and of hearing his opinion from his own lips. About a fortnight before his death I received a long letter from him stating in detail what had occurred in Canada. He had seen his Church flourish under the operation of disendowment, and had it been in his power to reverse the proceedings nothing would have induced him to make a single retrograde step. Leaving Canada, I ask what is the true state of the case of the Church of England? And here I may observe that at Southport Mr. Cross recently delivered a challenge to me. At another place I mean to remind him that he has carefully avoided a number of challenges that I have given him. In order to set him a good example, and encourage him to walk in the paths of virtue, I will take up his challenge. He wants to know whether I will pledge myself, come what may, to support the Church of England. I shall use my own language in answering that question, but I will answer it so that any intelligent man may be satisfied. I think these two things—first of all, the Church of England cannot be disestablished; and, secondly, I think it ought not to be disestablished; and these two propositions taken together are my answer to the challenge of Mr. Cross. It would not be difficult for me to tell you in a few words why I think it cannot be disestablished. Even the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, when you look at it in the face, is like what a little man is sometimes called upon to do in the working operations of a big job. I do not think it is beyond our power. I think it is within our power, and I think that, if you will support us, and put Mr. Grenfell and me and 300 or 400 more Liberal members into the House of Commons, we shall be able to manage that. But I own that if I were a member of the Liberation Society, which I am not, or if I agreed with the principles of the Liberation Society, which I do not, I should still look two or three times at the business of disestablishing the Church of England before I set about it. I ventured to point out in the House of Commons that if we attempted to disestablish the Church of England

on the same principles as we ought certainly to proceed in Ireland—that is, with a perfect regard for vested interests, a careful regard for property rights, and for private and recent endowments—the effect of that would be that the Church of England, in commencing her existence as a voluntary society, would, if they took stock, commence with £80,000,000 or £90,000,000 in her pocket. I have met with no one who is prepared to establish a voluntary religious society, with a capital of 80 or 90 millions to start with. But in my opinion the Church of England ought not to be disestablished, and certainly not on account of any argument drawn from the Church of Ireland. It is impossible to conceive a greater contrast than that between the cases of the Church of England and the Church of Ireland. One exception I will make; I grant that they are all alike in this—and I am thankful that they are alike in this—that they both have bishops and clergy who are earnestly devoted to their sacred calling, but in everything regarding their position and situation they are not only unlike, but are directly the opposite. Look to the past of the Church of England. All of us who are Englishmen, who are members of the Church of England, and many who are Non-conformists, know that the history of the Church of England has been bound up with our national history, and that he who is in sympathy with the Church of England founds that sympathy in a great degree upon the honourable and noble recollections connected with it in former times. But what is the case of Ireland? Can the Church of Ireland open up her past? The very object of every champion of the Church of Ireland is to avoid it, and the first words that proceed from his lips are these, "Forget the past." He cannot, he dare not, open the book of history. There is not a doubt that the Church of Ireland has been art and part all along for two or three hundred years, throughout past generations—and I do not speak of the present generation—she has been art and part in all the worst and most shameful matters of English policy towards Ireland. When the penal laws were passed, where were the Irish bishops? In the House of Lords passing those penal laws, and not only consenting to them, but forming a large portion of that House of Lords when they were adopted. Then remember the tithe war, when the people were shot down for the collection of dues which were indeed legally to be exacted, but which were to go to the ministers of an alien religion. Is it possible you can venture to call up these recollections? No. You are compelled to exclude the whole of the past from the case of the Church of Ireland, in order to be able to argue for it at all. Whereas, in the case of the Church of England, we know very well that she has been the spiritual nurse of ourselves and of our fathers, and of even now a very large proportion of the people of the country, but in former times of a proportion much greater still. The past, then, of the two Churches is totally different. Then, with regard to the future, I cannot help feeling sanguine as to the fortunes of the Church of England, notwithstanding—what I do not at all conceal—all the difficulties arising from the internal divisions, and from scandals that are given and offence that is taken here and there at particular spots in the country. Still, I am quite satisfied that with an instructed and devoted clergy, labouring from generation to generation in their work, as the clergy do, there is every reasonable hope that the

clergy of England will continue to discharge in an increasingly satisfactory manner the responsibilities of their office. I will not trouble you with a repetition of what you may fairly call a demonstration, in the case of the Church of Ireland; but I say that figures fully demonstrate that the number of Protestants in Ireland, notwithstanding the removal of the pressure of the penal laws, has diminished, and has not increased. For the last few years, during which that diminution has been standing still, it has been owing entirely to the fact that, of the Roman Catholic population, a large proportion have been removed from the country, or, unhappily, removed from life, through causes which, we trust, are of a wholly exceptional character. Neither the future nor the past of the Church of England, however, can be for one moment compared with the Church of Ireland. The arguments in favour of Church Establishments are all available for the Church of England. In many portions of this country the Nonconformists would consider, and gladly consider, that the Church of England is the sole spiritual teacher of the people. Nor is it only so, but between the Nonconformists and the Church of England many kindly, social, and religious relations continue to subsist. This is not so in Ireland, where the popular sentiment is altogether against the Church and against everything that belongs to the Church. But look, I say, at the relative strength of the two Establishments. I lay down this proposition, that the weakest part of the Church of England is stronger than the strongest part of the Church of Ireland. The weakest part of the Church of England I am more or less conversant with. It is in Wales. In Wales the Church of England is in a minority; that minority has never been ascertained, but in some limited districts of Wales it is very small, while in other parts of Wales, and particularly where English is spoken, the case approximates more to that of England. But I will assume that the Church of England does not count more than one quarter of the population of Wales, while the Church of Ireland counts quite a quarter of the population of Ulster. Wales, then, may be taken as the weakest part of the Church of England, and Ulster as the strongest part of the Church of Ireland. One-half the proportion, or more than one-half the people of Ulster, are Roman Catholics, and are wholly and entirely set against the Church of Ireland in that province. One-half of the people are wholly opposed to the Establishment, but that is not true of the people of Wales. There is no hostility of that character to the Church Establishment in Wales, and there is nothing to produce painful and irritated feelings, speaking as a general rule, between the clergy and the Nonconformist portion of the population. It is now long since the mass of the Welsh were Church-people. The Dissent of the people is owing to the past neglect of the clergy. But it does not amount to a decided religious hostility. But I will give you another proof: look at the work of education, at that great work which, had it not been for the pressure of other subjects, I should have been glad to have remarked upon concerning its bearing upon the whole country. Now, I ask of the whole English people, who are the class that have for the last 30 years borne the burden and heat of the day in England and even in Wales, with respect to the education of the labouring classes of the community? I say they are the clergy. I do not mean to say

that the schoolmasters have not done their duty, but I mean that the education of the labouring classes has been conducted under the superintendence of the clergy, and with the co-operation of the clergy—aye, and in a considerable degree at the personal cost of the clergy—and it is owing to their devotion and zeal that the children have been collected in the day-schools throughout the country. The overwhelming portion of that work has been in their hands—that is the great moral strength of the Established Church even in Wales. But what is the case in Ulster? The case in Ulster is this—that that fatal antagonism which associates, in the mind of the Irish peasantry, the Establishment of the country with everything that is odious and distasteful to it—that fatal antagonism which affects the tenure of land, which affects the direct administration of religion, has gone also into the province of education; and that when the Whig Government of 1831, aided happily at the time by Lord Derby, endeavoured to introduce into Ireland a more liberal system, which would not be odious and offensive to the Roman Catholic population, the great opponents of the system, who would not allow it to gain one inch of ground in any portion of the country where they could keep it out, were the bishops and the clergy of the Establishment. Gentlemen, it is not for me to condemn them—they were acting according to their consciences, and they had a right to do so; but I may point out the hopelessness of their relation to the masses of the country, even in the part of Ireland where their position is the best. I am comparing it with the hopelessness of the position of the clergy in that part of this kingdom in which the position of the clergy of England is the worst. If you proceed to survey the country at large, that disparity between the two cases, which is strong enough even as between Wales and Ulster, becomes almost ridiculous, at any rate so glaring that it would be a waste of time and no great compliment to your understanding if I were to dilate upon it. Gentlemen, the truth is, the argument of our opponents seems to be, that between the Church Establishment which does its work in the main and has the hope of doing it in much in which it may now fall short—between such a Church Establishment on the one hand, and a Church Establishment on the other hand that does not do its work, and that has not the smallest hope of doing it, there is no perceptible difference whatever. Now that is the argument of our opponents, and they say if you remove the Church Establishment of Ireland, which does not do its work, has not done, and cannot do it, the contagion will be so fatal that you will immediately proceed to remove the Church Establishment of England, which to a very large portion of the community does its work already, and which its friends are sanguine enough to believe will, through the zeal and devotion of its clergy and of its laity, make its usefulness more and more felt from year to year, and from generation to generation. Gentlemen, it is true that affairs of mankind are not always governed by reason. But it is not true, on the other hand, that they are always governed by madness; and you really must, it appears to me, introduce idiocy into the high places of the land before you can say that because you have thought it right to remove the Church which is hostile to the people, you will, therefore, take away a Church which is loved and respected by the people; because you have

thought it right to remove a Church Establishment which aggravates every social evil and political difficulty, and which itself will thrive all the better for being so removed, and removed from the hatred of the masses of the people, therefore you shall remove a Church which, on the contrary, is bound up with the sympathies and the recollections of that enormous mass of the people that belong to its communion, and of no small portion of those who do not owe to it a direct spiritual allegiance. Now, gentlemen, these are not inflammatory topics; they may perhaps even be rather heavy—at any rate, they are of a character that make an appeal, not to the passions, but to the understanding. I have not exaggerated, gentlemen, the case of the Church of Ireland. It is not possible to appreciate all the features of that case without entering too largely into the history of the country, but it is summed up in this, that every step and period of that history it has been in conflict with the Irish nation, and has exhibited the consequences of this conflict in a thousand lamentable deformities; for I think Mr. Cross, in a speech which I hold in my hand, declared a night or two ago that "he did not hesitate to say with the deepest regret that he believed the Government of Ireland had been one great mistake for years and years"; that is the mode in which Mr. Cross opens his case. What he promises is apparently a total metamorphosis. Well, but these great transformations do not ordinarily occur, and the promise of them is far beyond the power of human strength to fulfil. It is impossible, gentlemen, that the Irish Church Establishment ever can perform the duties attaching to an Establishment of national religion. It is of no advantage to that Establishment to be kept in the enjoyment, or at least in the possession, of emoluments which are given for services they cannot perform. You must look also to the view that is taken of these matters by the people of England; their mind is quite made up, and depend upon it the position of this question is enormously altered, or is, I should say, enormously advanced, by the proceedings of the present year. The proceedings of the British House of Commons in 1868 have constituted a virtual pledge and engagement to the people of Ireland. Your representatives, gentlemen, have taken a very solemn step in your name—a step which may be called rash and hasty, but which has been taken upon long, serious, and grave deliberation. At any rate, the thing is done. The representatives of the people have passed a Bill which aims at putting an end to the abusive system that has existed for centuries in the sister country. That Bill has been taken by the natives of the sister country as a promise of better times and better doings for the future. It has gone forth, as the dove might go forth, bearing the olive-branch of peace. But we are an expiring House of Commons. We, the present House of Commons, have no power to renew our action or to fulfil our engagement. The responsibility now rests with you to say by your conduct at the coming elections whether the fond expectations of Ireland are to be gratified, or whether once more her hopes are to be crushed and disappointed, and another chapter added to the long annals of her woes.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

# ROYAL MUSIC HALL, SOUTHPORT.

OCTOBER 21st, 1868.

Mr. Gaskell and Gentlemen,—You have been pleased, by a vote most gratifying to my feelings, to acknowledge that in the Parliament which is now about to expire I have endeavoured to serve you faithfully, and have not disappointed those pledges or professions in which at the commencement of the Parliament I solicited your support; but, gentlemen, you have given a practical acknowledgment to the effect which, if possible, is still more gratifying to me and I believe to my hon. friend. You have manifested, as you manifest to-night, a zeal in the cause, and a determination that that zeal shall not evaporate in mere words. You have shown it in the Registration Court, you have shown it in all your proceedings, and we have only to ask you to persevere in the exertions you have made to ensure that success which is alike necessary for the fulfilment of our common aims. Surveying the wide field of politics, we are necessarily compelled to dwell in the main upon those matters which form the subject of present contention, and I trust of early settlement. I for one have endeavoured during this controversy to avoid imputations and indiscriminate onslaught upon the Government. I think nothing can be more worthless than the method of warfare which has been so powerfully exposed by Mr. Grenfell—vague, general imputations, most mischievous in character, unproved by facts and unsupported by evidence, resting entirely on reference to the names of the parties with which invidious feelings and suspicions are associated, and endeavouring to poison or darken the atmosphere of controversy, which it ought to be the desire of every honest man to keep clear of every such imputation and suspicion, in order that we may deal clearly and conclusively with facts.

We have had much controversy during the election upon the subject of finance, a controversy which I did my best to light up by a charge of a specific and definite nature. I was so far successful in the object I have in view that a correspondence began between Mr. Cross, the Conservative candidate for the county, and Her Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we were permitted to see the

results in the public prints. Thereupon I endeavoured to supply Mr. Cross, at a meeting at Warrington last week, with fresh matter for a further correspondence; and my belief is, although I cannot tell you as a matter of fact, that the further correspondence has been actively prosecuted, but that it has been thought better not to put the results in the newspapers. However, our opponents have been active, and I hold in my hand a tidily-printed pamphlet which assures us that one of the most numerous meetings during the contest was held a few nights ago in the Town-hall of Southport. And, gentlemen, considering that the Amphitheatre of Liverpool accommodates 4,000 people, and that we have had the honour of attending other meetings where 3,000 at least have been present, I marvel at the capacity of your Town-hall, which I understand to be a building of more moderate dimensions, but which, under the enchanter's wand of some scribe connected with the electioneering meetings of the other party, has thus been expanded to convey to us an overpowering idea of their activity and power. I read in the London newspapers a day or two ago that in the great metropolis an elderly gentleman presented himself before one of the police-magistrates, and his object was to induce the police-magistrates to interfere to prevent his neighbour's cock from crowing. The police-magistrate sympathised with the feeble nerves of the applicant, and promised to do all he could. Now, it was very natural, I think, for a candidate for South Lancashire to draw a kind of similitude between the circumstance in the London police-court and the circumstances in which we are placed, but I do assure you that I am not in the smallest degree anxious to prevent our neighbour's cock from crowing. My object is not to do as the opposite candidates have done—that is to launch out into vague and undefined statements incapable of being confuted, because incapable of being understood; but to give clear, distinct, and definite propositions upon which the intelligent electors of this county may each for himself deliver an aye or a no with a view to guiding his conduct at the election. Now, I think we have had enough of discussion on the question of expenditure for me to sum up very briefly the main propositions that have been propounded, and in some cases not challenged at all, in other cases made subjects of discussion. It was stated on the part of our opponents that they prepared moderate Estimates in the year 1858. Our answer was, "Those Estimates were the Estimates of the Liberal Government which preceded you; you found them prepared when you came into office, and you added to them as the expenditure of the year." Their next statement was that we proposed high Estimates in the years 1859 and 1860. Our answer was that the high Estimates of 1859, which we found upon entering office in the month of June of that year, were the Estimates of our predecessors, and, therefore, pre-charges which had been already incurred when we came into office. We did not deny that we were responsible along with them because we adopted for the remainder of the year Estimates of that description; but we showed how absurd it was to make that a matter of charge against ourselves. The next charge was that in 1860 those Estimates were increased. We showed, without entering into any question of praise or blame upon the policy of the proceedings, that the Estimates of 1860 were incurred in consequence of the China war, and that war had broken out in the shape of a disaster to the British fleet at the mouth of the Peiho, a few days after we assumed office in London, under instructions which

were distinctly and solely the act of our predecessors. Well, gentlemen, so far for these matters. It has been said, that if it be true that three millions were added to the expenditure in two years, we, says Mr. Turner, ought to have objected to it. Now, gentlemen, as regards the main charges of the country connected with the defensive services, Mr. Turner's political experience should have taught him this, that it is impossible for you to keep the Government in office and at the same time to reduce by votes of the House of Commons those amounts of force which that Government believes to be necessary for the defence of the country. A motion to diminish, for example, the army or the navy proposed by an Administration, is, in effect, a motion for the removal of the Administration. Had we made the motion, we should have made a motion for the removal of the Administration. Was it right that we should have made that motion? Gentlemen, in my opinion it would not be right, because the Government had been engaged in matters more important even than the question of a greater or less expenditure, and it would have been factious on our part, for the sake of any subject which, though important, was yet secondary at the moment in comparison with the great object, to endeavour to impede them in their career. That is, as regards the great services of the country, from which the principal increased charge has resulted. To the increased charge we have objected in our places. We have endeavoured to point out in many particulars how erroneous the policy has been, and the mode of proceedings under which it has been incurred; but as I tell you, if you want to have economy with regard to the navy and army of the country, there is but one way of getting it, and that is by having an economical Government. Well, gentlemen, a challenge has been thrown out to me by Mr. Cross, and it is this. He says that between 1852 and 1866 there was an increase of expenditure from 17 millions to 30 millions, and that during almost all the time Liberal Governments were in office. Now, gentlemen, I am very sorry that Mr. Cross—misled, no doubt, by some of those authorities in London who practised upon his simplicity—is not accurate in this and in several instances in the statements which he makes. I am quite sure this inaccuracy of his is unintentional. There has been a great increase in the expenditure of the country, but the increase of the expenditure for defensive purposes between 1852 and 1866, when we left office, was not 17 to 30 millions, but from 17 millions to between 24 millions and 25 millions—certainly under £25,000,000, or say, in round numbers, £25,000,000. It is not desirable that the little odd sums of £5,000,000 should be laid on when they do not exist: and I observe the same matter again, because Mr. Cross says that Lord Palmerston's Government spent £10,000,000 upon fortifications. Again, Mr. Cross's authorities in London—whose letters, as I have said, we have not seen in the newspapers this time, but it can hardly be the Chancellor of the Exchequer—have misled him. Lord Palmerston never spent £10,000,000 on fortifications. I do not know whether, when Lord Palmerston died, much more than three millions had been spent; but the plan adopted contemplated, and the Act authorised, an expenditure of about £5,000,000, a little more or a little less, or just one-half the sum mentioned by Mr. Cross. But Mr. Cross asked me why there was an increase between 1852 and 1866. Well, gentlemen, I will not now go into the question as to whether every particular of that increase has been justified; but this is a self-govern-

ing country, and you all know that in the interval between 1852 and 1866 there was at times a great sense of insecurity in the public mind, and a great call for increase in the defensive resources of the country. It will be found that these causes concurred in point of time with scientific inventions which led to transformations more than once of the whole of the munitions of war, and likewise of all the ships that compose our fleet, and it is not the question now whether these things were in all cases precisely right or not. My answer to Mr. Cross is very simple. What was done between 1852 and 1866 was not the act of the Liberal Government in office; it was not even the act of the Tory Opposition, which always wanted them to do more and to spend more; it was in the main, whether rightly or wrongly, the demand of the public opinion of the country, and I tell you plainly that when the public opinion of the country thinks fit to set itself in favour of expenditure there is certainly no other power upon earth which can possibly resist it. That, I hope, is a fair answer to Mr. Cross's challenge, and I will now point out to you the challenges which I have given, and to which no answer whatever has been made. My first challenge was this,—that the increase which has arisen from 1866 to 1868 has not been called for by any demands of public opinion; the Ministers have turned the tide from an ebbing to a flowing tide of expenditure, and they have done that by their own act and from their own view, in spite of many remonstrances on points of great importance from the Opposition, and without the slightest pressure from the people at large. Therefore this is an augmentation which is in no sense to be referred to the public opinion of the country; it has been the pure act of the present so-called Conservative Administration. My second challenge was this—that whenever we had a high expenditure setting in under Liberal Governments all the efforts of the Tory Opposition were efforts to make that high expenditure higher, and that proposition I was not content to state in general terms, but I quoted particular instances in which it had been attempted, in regard to fortifications and with regard to other matters, by the members of the Opposition, availing themselves of what they thought a current of opinion out of doors favourable to expenditure, to force us into greater outlays, and into laying greater burdens on the country. To that challenge no answer has been given, and no notice whatever has been taken of it. When we were told that we never objected to the extravagance of the present Government—I speak now with regard to its civil expenditure—my answer was by an instance that I have given when a motion was made, happily by a member on the Conservative side of the House, which gave us a favourable opportunity, inasmuch as it could not be called a party motion. We voted for that motion and carried it by a majority of one. The Government divided twice upon it, and were twice beaten by one; and among those who voted against us was Mr. Charles Turner, the member for South Lancashire. It does appear to me to show very considerable courage, on the part of those who have done their best, by their implicit obedience to the Government, to keep up that high expenditure when the Opposition endeavoured to reduce it, to throw a challenge in the face of the Opposition, and say, "Why did you not keep it down?" Well, gentlemen, I have also stated this,—that ever since we went out of office the present Government, for what purpose I will not say—I think in some instances in consequence of the disposition that there always is to endeavour to create local political interests for the

purpose of elections at the expense of the public purse—and neither Mr. Cross nor Mr. Turner, nor their informants in London, will venture to question what I say—that from that time to this her Majesty's present Government has been granting, at the solicitation of individuals and classes, sums of the public money that we had steadily refused, and has been increasing in cases which we have granted. Now, gentlemen, I think that all these are tolerably definite charges. I have supported them in each case by one or more particular instances, which I cannot now endeavour to repeat, for the fidelity of our friends below us has already placed them on record. These challenges have not been taken up, and it has not been attempted to answer them, and I say, therefore, gentlemen, as we are now approaching to the close of these electioneering controversies, that the charge of a needless and wanton expenditure is effectually fastened upon the heads of Her Majesty's present Government and of those who supported them in the House of Commons. Now gentlemen, as I have said, I do not make indiscriminate charges against Her Majesty's Government, nor do I say that in every department its conduct of public affairs has been without credit. It is more pleasant to me—though perhaps there are some would not believe it—to notice their good deeds than their bad ones. The conduct of foreign affairs has certainly drawn down from me no censure and no reproach. I believe that Lord Stanley has been actuated in his administration at the Foreign Office by good sense, by quiet moderation, by a love of constitutional freedom in all parts of the world, which we always expect from our Foreign Minister and from every Minister, and, lastly, by a steady regard for the rights of other nations and governments as the only condition on which we can expect our own rights to be respected. I think that the reputation of Lord Stanley as Foreign Minister, is in no danger at all except it be from the extravagant eulogies of men who ascribe to him the powers of magic and enchantment, and who tell us that the peace of Europe has been preserved—the peace for instance, between France and Prussia has been preserved—entirely by the authoritative interposition of Lord Stanley. These eulogies, gentlemen, are extravagant caricatures, and I have not the least doubt that a man of his good sense laughs at them in his sleeve; they are among the expedients which are brought into play at election times, when such things, and a number of other odd things, too, are supposed to pass muster. Gentlemen, I have in the House of Commons had the satisfaction of acknowledging that the whole of the executory detail of the Abyssinian expedition, as far as we are competent to judge of it—which is only in the same degree as you, the public—was conducted by the Government and by the Secretary of State for India in a manner that did credit to his administrative abilities. These things, gentlemen, are pleasant to acknowledge. There is no such a desperate love of the element of strife and contention in the minds of public men as outside observers sometimes suppose. But it is not because some of the departments of the country are unexceptionally conducted that we can afford to overlook those great questions of cardinal policy which go to affect, not the mere routine of affairs, not the subject of a little more or a little less expenditure, but which descend to the very root of our social and our political being; for the question, gentlemen, of the peace, security, and satisfaction of Ireland is a question which touches the unity and the integrity of the Empire.

Now, gentlemen, there are one or two points connected with this great subject of the national Establishment of religion in Ireland which I have yet to open, and which I will endeavour now to bring before you. At a recent meeting I said that I would not discuss, inasmuch as it is not possible to discuss with great advantage all things at once—I stated that I would not discuss one plan that has been proposed for dealing with the religious question in Ireland—viz. the plan of creating a number of Established Churches. Gentlemen, that has been at various times a popular plan, and a plan supported by Government authorities, and it was supported in March last by Her Majesty's Government, but the emphatic expression of the displeasure of this country has driven it into the shade. But as we never have had from the members of the Government any disclaimer upon principle of that which they adopted and declared as a corner-stone of their policy for Ireland when Mr. Disraeli became First Minister, it is quite possible that, under favourable circumstances, it may be reproduced. So I think it desirable that we should look for a moment at the merits of that plan. The object we have in view is, as my friend Mr. Grenfell has said, to exclude from this debate all considerations of theological contention. These subjects are not to be idly sneered at. They are of the deepest importance to the happiness of man, and they touch the inmost feelings; but it is fatal to the hopes of satisfactory political discussion if we allow these considerations to come between us and the fulfilment of the principle of civil justice, and that is the plain answer to those who, because the Roman Catholics are in a minority in England, and because their religion is considerably different from that which prevails with the majority, endeavour by creating a prejudice and outcry against them to prejudice plans which have no connection whatever with the merits or demerits of their religion, but are founded solely on the recognition of their religious equality. I ventured to say the other day in another place that the Church of England could not be disestablished, and that it ought not to be disestablished—two propositions perfectly distinct from one another; and so I venture to say that the plan of all endowment, the plan of meeting the difficulty in Ireland by multiplying the number of churches in that country by extending the narrow grant to Presbyterians into a sufficient endowment, and by granting a small endowment to the Roman Catholics —I say that this plan, which was shadowed by the Government in March, is a plan which cannot be carried into execution, and ought not to be carried into execution. You know that pretty well yourselves; you know that the Episcopalians of England, the Presbyterians of Scotland, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland are all opposed to it, and in a self-governed country it is a difficult matter to pass a law to which all the three countries are opposed; but I am bound to say that, although I am not prepared to censure Mr. Pitt and other great men who looked with favour upon a plan of this kind, I think the Roman Catholics in objecting to the plan have judged wisely as well as for their own interests. I do not mean for the narrow and sectarian interests of their religion; I mean for the establishment of peace and goodwill between them and their neighbours, and between them and the State. If large sums were given for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland there would be an expectation that in return for that endowment conces-

sions should be made by the Roman Catholics and a power of interference be allowed by the British Government in the internal affairs of that Church, which would be a perpetual source of dissension; and because I think that the existence of such subjects of discord would be equally injurious and mischievous to them and us, and alike fatal to the purpose we have in view of establishing harmony in Ireland, I am of opinion that the plan of all endowment, which the Government choose as the proper method of dealing with the Irish Church, while it cannot be adopted is a plan which ought not to be adopted. There are those who say that the plan never was intended by the Government. I am going to read a paragraph from a newspaper published in Rome—and no newspaper is published in Rome without the authority and approval of the Government of that city. I wish to show the view taken by that Government of the declaration of the British Ministry. The newspaper is the *Roman Observer* of March, 1868, and the article in question is a review of the debate on Mr. Maguire's motion. It says:—"Mr. Disraeli recognised the necessity of endowing the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and that it might not be supposed that he wished to give stipends to the Catholic priests he declared that he rejected the idea of what is commonly called paying the clergy. He declared accordingly that the Catholics should have the right of property in Ireland as elsewhere. If together with the Catholic Church Mr. Disraeli wishes that the Anglican Church should have property, we must not forget that he is the Minister of a Protestant Government." That was the attitude of the Government now in power, which has raised the premature cry of "No Popery," which is the promoter of the cry of "Defender of Royal Supremacy," and the proclaimer of all kinds of mischief from the policy of freedom and equality. That was the aspect of the policy of the Government in March last, and you may rely upon it that the person who wrote that paragraph did not do so from his own opinion, but from inspiration conveyed through other channels and from higher quarters. So much, gentlemen, for the subject of what I call the all-endowment system. But one of the most popular charges against us is that our policy is addressed to the encouragement of Ultramontanism—a long word, gentlemen, a difficult word, a word of which the significance has caused a good deal of trouble to the world in former times, and may yet again. It is not for us, I think, in this place to pronounce any opinion at all upon religious questions affecting the internal condition of the Roman Catholic Church. But the question of Ultramontanism is partly religious and partly political. I look at the political part of it exclusively. In that light—as I understand it—I may be wrong, and I have no authority to speak—it is that system of opinions which includes a great number of political and civil questions that are the very opposite of those on which we act in these matters. In this country we say that religious opinions ought not to be made the ground of disabilities for civil office. Ultramontanism, if I understand the matter aright, says that they ought to be made such a ground. In this country we think that the circulation of opinion should be free. Ultramontanism, if I understand it, is a system which states that the circulation of opinion should not be free. And so on through a long string of propositions, nearly the whole of which were treated of some few years ago in two documents emanating from the Roman Court, not referring to matters of faith or belief, or I would not touch them here

if they did. I do not look upon them in that point of view, but as containing undoubtedly an enunciation of opinions of which I will only say that they are entirely opposed to the practice of this country. The charge against us is that we are favourable to these Ultramontane opinions, and that we are about to promote them. My answer is double. In the first place, I say if you want to favour Ultramontanism among Roman Catholics —among the hundreds of thousands of Roman Catholics in this country, and among the millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland—I will give you a recipe to do it, and it is this: treat them with civil injustice; compel them to view themselves, not as members of this great and noble country, having common interests and brotherly feelings with you, but as members of a confederation apart, as men who are oppressed or discountenanced on account of their religion, and who, being men of honour and spirit, on that account cling to it or cling to everything that comes to them in its name with the greatest fondness and tenacity. That, gentlemen, in my humble opinion, is the true way to promote Ultramontane opinions. But again, if you will allow me, I am going to give you another short passage from the same source. The *Roman Observer* of March, 1868, reviewing the debate in the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Maguire, gives an opinion expressed in Rome under authority. Referring to the two documents that I have already mentioned to you, and which are known in Rome and in the Roman Catholic community as the Syllabus and Encyclical Letter, the writer says:—

"Among the speeches pronounced on this occasion is conspicuous that of the First Minister, Mr. Disraeli, who pronounced so many noble truths in defence of the proposition set forth in the Syllabus and Encyclical of Pius the Ninth as should raise a blush on the faces of those pigmies in Italy and elsewhere who pretend to be great men while they resist decisions of the Pope, which have been justified, acknowledged, and proclaimed even by a heretic of the highest genius and the widest reputation, such as the First Minister, Mr. Disraeli."

Now, gentlemen, I am going to put to you a question—Suppose that out of that paragraph you strike the words, "First Minister, Mr. Disraeli," and put "Opposition speaker, Mr. Gladstone," and suppose the Roman newspaper under the Pope's authority had written of me that I had pronounced so many noble truths in defence of the Encyclical and of the Syllabus as to make those pigmies blush, who refused to admit truths acknowledged by a heretic like myself—suppose there had been such a paper, I ask you whether it would not have been placarded on every wall in this country as a damning demonstration of the Popish intentions of myself and the Liberal party? Oh, gentlemen, what a plume that would have been for Mr. Turner! Why, it would have been a stock-in-trade enough to carry the Conservatives through the whole election; and now I should like to know what they will say to it when they meet next in the Town-hall at Southport or elsewhere. What will they say of the Encyclical and the Syllabus? Ah! let there be equal dealings in these matters. Suspicions are thrown out against us—daringly thrown out—with not a jot or tittle of evidence to back them, and when you hear those suspicions, or find them in circulation, refer gentlemen to the reports which will be made to-night of the passage I have just read to you, and ask Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross for their explanation. Gentlemen, Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross

are to be felt for in different degrees; Mr. Cross is a fortunate man, because, unlike the Church of Ireland, he has no past for which to be called to account. Mr. Turner is an unfortunate man, because he has got to explain that which never can be explained—namely, that having been elected as an anti-Reformer in 1865, he steadily joined in every measure to resist Reform in 1866, and then in 1867, that his own friends might be kept in office, gave his voice in favour of a plan agreeable indeed to the views which prevail among us and within these walls, in its main principles as it was ultimately shaped, but most disagreeable to the professions, and tastes, and inclinations of himself and his party. Now, gentlemen, I am going to do a very bold thing: I am going to suggest to Mr. Turner the material for a speech. It is taking a great liberty, but it refers entirely to a department which Mr. Turner is loth to open—namely, that of the past, and it is not a speech of my own invention, or I would not venture to suggest it to him, but it is a speech which, comprised in one sentence, is stated to have been made by a gentleman of the name of Baggallay—I believe, a distinguished lawyer, who, for his merits, has been made Solicitor-General by the present Government, and who has presented himself for re-election, I believe, to his constituents at Hereford. At any rate, what I wish to call your attention to is a sentence which, as far as I can judge, would suit Mr. Turner to a T. Mr. Baggallay says, "Gentlemen, I am going to make it plain to all. I came here in 1865 and told you I would do one thing, and I have been and done another." Now, in my opinion it is impossible to nourish resentment against men who use plainness of speech; it makes very short scores; it shows the people of England that no attempt is to be made to hoodwink or delude them, and on this account I am serious when I say, and I think you must be of the same opinion, that it would be greatly to the permanent interests of the Conservative party and of Mr. Turner, if he would simply take into his own mouth and publish the short speech of Mr. Baggallay. But, gentlemen, I go on from our opponents to the last topic upon which I shall trouble you, and that is the present condition of Ireland, with regard to which though I said I had entirely done with our opponents personally, I will say I see in this speech that the same gross delusion, the same thick darkness, if without disrespect I may so speak, overspreads the minds of Mr. Cross and Mr. Turner as has been said in former years to overspread the whole counsels of the Tory party with respect to Ireland. Now, gentlemen, in my opinion, our friends of the Conservative party entirely and absolutely misunderstood the condition of that country. Mr. Cross speaks of it as having undergone very great improvement. He states that things have been very bad in Ireland in former times, but he thinks now they are so much better, and, to use his expression, so much good has been done in Ireland, that the result, as he says, has been comparative happiness; and his audience, I was almost going to say his victim, greeted that statement with cheers; and it is their opinion that Ireland is now in a state of comparative happiness. It is only fair to them to say that they are echoing the opinion pronounced by the Prime Minister at a civic festival of the City of London given three months ago. Now, if that is their opinion of the state of Ireland, what I say is that our Conservative friends are in a deep sleep. I do not mean as to electioneering manœuvres. Unfortunately, sometimes people walk in their sleep, and I

consider that their electioneering activity is that of men walking in their sleep. The electioneering activity refers to the question of the poll; the sleep in which they are involved means a total incapacity to discern the signs of the times and the real causes of danger to the empire. Ireland we are told is in a state of comparative happiness at a time when for three years, in order to maintain the peace of the country, it has been found necessary to suspend the elementary guarantees of personal freedom. That is the doctrine of our opponents, and I am justified in saying they are asleep; and I will tell you more: the most friendly service you could do them is to give them a good, hard, and rough shake to awake them. Some hope I have that that operation will be performed at the time of the election; and really I feel that it would be not less for their profit than for ours. I had the honour of addressing you in this hall some ten or eleven months ago, and then told you before the meeting of Parliament, the view that I could not but take of the condition of Ireland and the Fenian manifestations; and then I signified to you the opinion that the time had in my view arrived when we must set about the establishment of religious equality in Ireland. Now, what is the doctrine of our opponents? Mr. Cross says it is true that the Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended, but not as against the people of Ireland. He says, "I deny that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in Ireland against Irish people." Well, there is the city of Rome, and the feeling of the bulk of the Italian people is, that the inhabitants of that city are not well affected to the civil Government of the Papacy. I speak without touching upon any of the controversies in the matter, because I am using it merely for the purposes of illustration, to endeavour to show truly how this matter stands. Well, but when the volunteers of Garibaldi invaded the Roman States the Roman people did not rise, and the explanation given was this:—They were too prudent, and they dared not; they knew that an overwhelming force would be used to put them down; and they determined not to shed their blood to no purpose. I speak of that as the explanation of what has occurred among us in this country. Apply that to the case of Ireland. The people of Ireland have not risen; the people of Ireland are divided in sentiment, and so probably are the people of Rome; but this we know, and upon the highest authority, that a large portion of the Irish people are either hostile in their relation or neutral to the British Throne and Government. We know that upon the authority of the Ministers of the Crown; we know it by the manifestations that occur from time to time in Ireland when criminals are tried for political offences; we know it by the processions which were held in Ireland and in London after the execution of, I think, three Fenian offenders who had murdered the policeman Brett. We know it by every kind of symptom that can meet the eye of intelligent men; and yet still our friends—for I call our opponents also our friends except in the political sense—will cling to their delusion that Ireland is thoroughly British in feeling, sensible of the countless blessings which they derive from our invaluable Constitution, and that it is only the troublesome agency of the United States of America which renders it necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. Now, gentlemen, I want to go to that point, because this is a subject of vital importance, on which I am certain you will not grudge me a very few moments. The language which is held by our opponents is this—Fenianism is a plant of foreign growth. Ireland is not disaffected,

though Lord Mayo stated that as regarded a large portion of the population it was; but that can't be admitted during the elections. Fenianism is a foreign importation into Ireland, and the true origin of the hotbed of Fenianism is in America. Now, gentlemen, isn't it a most extraordinary thing that Irishmen should become more hostile to their own country in consequence of leaving it than they were when they dwelt in it? Did you ever hear of such a case? Did you ever hear of men who lived contentedly under a Government, and then, because they happened to go under another Government, become in their own breasts hostile to the Government they had left? No such case ever was known or heard of. Now, gentlemen, I want you to understand what is the view that the Americans take of Fenianism; it is quite time that you should hear them upon that subject. Our opponents are under the gross delusion of believing that America has a love for this pestilential plant, and fondles and rears it with the utmost care in order to make it an instrument of annoyance to us. That is their creed. I tell you, on the contrary, that Fenianism is a plant of Irish growth, and the only reason why it is suppressed and smoulders in Ireland and is loud and noisy in America is that it is suppressed in Ireland through the fear of an overwhelming power, and that when the shores of America are reached the fear of that overwhelming power has ceased. This is just like what happens in many cases when there is a fire in a mine: they close the mine to stop it, and the fire is not observed; but if the air be let in the fire blazes up. The Fenianism of Ireland is the fire smouldering in the mine; the Fenianism of America is the fire, with an abundant supply of fresh air. And, moreover, it is most unjust to the Americans to accuse them of loving, and fondling, and caressing this evil growth, with which it is we who annoy them. I hold in my hand a letter which is well worth your hearing. I am not sure that I should be justified in mentioning the writer's name, simply because it is a private letter sent from America and supplied to me by a dignitary of the Church of England, who is entirely of our mind with regard to the Church of Ireland, but it expresses opinions which do not require a name to authenticate them, and I am sure when you know that it is an American's view of the Fenian question you will say that the two or three minutes occupied in reading it are the most important portion of time I have spent since I began. I am not quite certain as to the date of the letter, but it is a recent one, having come within the last six months. The writer says:—

"The Irish come to our country by millions, and bring with them the hate of the British Government so intense that to gratify it they would gladly die. Every tried friend of Great Britain ardently desires that some wise and sufficient measures may be devised to conciliate the Irish people and make them friends of the Government by which at present they think themselves so deeply injured. I wish English statesmen could see this question in the light in which we regard it from our stand-point. There is nothing so important to our country, as well as yours, as the maintenance of peace between them, and even more than that—the most kindly relations. The Irish already constitute a most influential portion of our voting population, determining to a very large extent the policy of our Government. This population is led and controlled almost absolutely by able and unscrupulous politicians who are themselves well known among

us as being unfriendly to your country; these men can at any moment command the enthusiastic devotion of the entire Irish population among us by a promise to inaugurate a policy of unfriendliness to Great Britain. I am sure I speak the opinions of all the better part of our people when I say that we wish to see your country prosperous and strong and her people happy. At present we think Ireland adds very little to the power of your nation, but regard it as an element of weakness in the event of a war with any strong naval and military people. We are sure that the proposed mode of dealing with the Irish Church would go far to placate the Irish people, and, followed by other wise measures of conciliation, would go far to reconcile the Irish to British rule. There is no more ardent Protestant than I am—than we are whose views I have endeavoured to present—but we feel confident that the Irish in this country, as well as in yours, will always be hostile to your Government, and will devise mischief to it in every possible way, without the adoption of some measures which they think justice to Ireland demands. That God may guide you and all your countrymen in the course best adapted to promote the interest of your nation and the happiness of your people, is my sincere wish."

Now, gentlemen, I don't hesitate to say that that letter presents the matter from the true point of view. The people of America wish to stand well with us, but we discharge upon their shores every year 100,000—perhaps more—of men into whose breasts we ourselves have instilled a deep hatred of ourselves; and these men, finding themselves in a country abounding in resources and in power, and carrying with them the passionate recollections with which they have set out from their native shores, naturally enough seek to turn the energies of America into channels hostile to us. And what is our miserable policy? To say that these feelings are of American growth. It is flying, gentlemen, in the face of facts; it is closing our eyes against the noonday. These passions are passions born and fostered in Ireland, and they are the unhappy children of our own misrule, and until we can by some means awaken the minds of the English people to the perception of these great essential facts, bearing as they do upon all the permanent prospects of peace and of security for this empire, we never can stand in the face of the world acquitted by the general opinion of civilised mankind of gross injustice; nor can we have that firm, immoveable position which we ought to have for our own defence in times of danger as a strong, because a united, people. Now, gentlemen, I endeavour in these words feebly to present to you the great work which we have in hand in this election. Is it not idle, in the face of facts like these, to talk of being governed by party motives and the desire of office? It is not difficult to meet such reproaches with silence on the part of those who know they do not deserve them; but it is difficult with patience to think that it is by means of instruments and pleas like these that men are content to practise on themselves the grossest self-delusion, to encourage the Government of this great and noble empire in a course of injustice and wrong. Gentlemen, we invoke you in the mass—you individually, every elector among you—if the interests that I have endeavoured to place before you really touch you as British citizens; if you really prize and cherish that which has been to us all a dear and a sacred name, we invoke you to assist us in an enterprise which, however it may be blackened by calumny, or more frequently by ignorance—we believe, and I think I may say we know, to be the enterprise of justice and of truth.

# SPEECH

DELIVERED IN

# HENGLER'S CIRCUS, WIGAN.

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OCTOBER 23RD, 1868.

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MR. LANCASTER AND GENTLEMEN,—I avail myself with the utmost promptitude and pleasure of the introduction which you have been pleased to give me, and I will endeavour to state my views on some points of interest to the vast assemblage which I have the honour to witness before me, with only this preliminary observation, that as the constituency of the county has greatly favoured me with like opportunities at other places of importance, I shall endeavour to avoid, as far as is in my power, repeating the observations which it has been my duty to offer to other portions of the electoral body, and you will, I trust, accept my apology, growing out of the necessity of the case, if I rather endeavour to convey to you with clearness and fairness, as much as is in my power, one or two points of great importance, than attempt to travel over the whole wide field of the political interests of the country at large. There are two subjects connected with and forming branches of the great question of the Irish Church —which, as you know, absorbs at this time, far beyond every other single topic, the general interest of the country—there are two branches of this great question on which I have not said a word, but with respect to which, any attempt to discuss the question in the face of the country would be incompatible unless some endeavours were made to deal with them. One of the allegations that are often made by the friends, or, at the least, those who call themselves, and I have no doubt believe themselves, the friends of the Irish Church, is this,—that it operates with great power in the mitigation of religious animosities. Well now, gentlemen, I meet that statement with one directly opposite, and I hold and contend that the effect partly of the Established Irish Church, and partly of the general system of ascendency of which that Irish Church is an important and a leading

part, has been not to mitigate but to inflame religious animosity in that particular country to a point higher and hotter than it has reached probably in any country in the world—certainly in any portion of Her Majesty's wide and almost boundless dominions. I will endeavour to supply you with an illustration of what I have said, and I begin with an anecdote from the House of Commons. In the course of last Session, a highly respected friend of mine, an Irish representative, Mr. Cogan, gave notice that he would ask from the Government an explanation with respect to a speech that had been delivered in Ireland by a gentleman whom I need not name, connected with Trinity College, Dublin, and which he considered to be a speech directly tending to a breach of the peace; and, undoubtedly, in that speech the speaker did appear to contemplate pretty distinctly the use of force as a means of resisting any measures that Parliament might adopt with a view to the destruction of the Protestant ascendency. That recital by Mr. Cogan appeared to produce a considerable impression, for, in point of fact, I defy you, gentlemen, in the whole length and breadth of England—unless it be within the charmed circle occupied by a certain Murphy, who I believe is now somewhere in these parts, and whose proceedings we really cannot recognise as belonging at all to the character which marks the laws of English debate—I defy you to find from ordinary English debate and controversy, though we naturally are free in our language, anything to compare to the passage to which I now refer. But a great impression was produced upon the opposite side. There was considerable alarm from the obviously inflammatory, not to say seditious, tendency of the speech of the gentleman connected with Trinity College, Dublin. But what was the mode of defence adopted? Not to explain the speech, not to retract the speech. The mode of defence adopted was this:—Another gentleman on the other side of the House went and found another speech just as inflammatory from the other side of the question, and he came down and read that violent, inflammatory, and seditious language on the other side of the question amid the triumphant acclamations of the supporters of the Government. They did not in the least degree think it necessary to show that their man had not used language tending to a breach of the peace; it was quite enough for them to show that similar language had been used on the other side. But this is not the way, I am thankful to say, in which discussion on political measures is conducted in this country. I hold in my hand a published pamphlet relating to the parishes in the North of Ireland; I have never seen a contradiction of the statements it contains, and I think they are such as will put you in a position to judge whether we are right in contending that religious animosity is inflamed, and not mitigated, by the existence of the Established Church in Ireland and by the system with which that Church is connected. You will all remember that the present settlement in Ireland was reached at a period of revolution, not as in England, peacefully, happily, and by the spontaneous action of the mind of a free people, but in the manner of an English conquest over the inferior forces of Ireland. The battles of William III. and his forces put down what was undoubtedly the sense and will of the mass of the Irish people. I am finding no fault with that at this moment—it is a question of historical discussion; but I think you will ageee with me that after a civil war of that nature was over, it was

an odious and dreadful thing to keep alive by periodical processions, by constant party dinners and celebrations, and by flags flouted in the face of the general population of Ireland, the memory of bloodshed by which the will and voice of the majority had been put down. You may remember that for a great length of time we did commemorate in this country by a religious celebration, the anniversary of what was called the Gunpowder Treason. That was a totally different matter; that was not a question of civil war fought out in the open field between two great parties in the country. It was a question of returning annual thanks to the Almighty for the deliverance of the Legislature from a terrible and execrable plot aimed at its destruction. And yet there is no man who does not feel that when we ceased a few years ago to maintain the usage for that annual celebration we had done an act of justice and kindness to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. But in Ireland, where it is a question of civil war, of which the Orange flag is the emblem, the wretched memory of former feuds is kept up year by year, by men banded together for the purpose—sincere men, conscientious men, I doubt not, but misguided men. But how misguided? They are misguided, to a great extent, by that which gives countenance to a system of ascendency, keeping them in the blindness of delusion under which they are labouring, But where do you suppose there is a favourable receptacle for the Orange flag? It is in the House and Temple of God. In the North of Ireland, within the very walls where men meet to lay aside their passions, and confess their sins, and give thanks for their mercies; even there this unhappy flag is hung. The pamphlet to which I refer is written by the Rev. John Robert Greer, incumbent of Kilderton, in the diocese of Armagh. He speaks as a man who was on the best terms with his parishioners until he differed from them on the matter of the Orange flag. He does not say that they did a thing without example, but, on the contrary, he says that Kilderton Church was the only church in his neighbourhood where the law had not been previously defied. He goes on to say, "You as representatives of the principal families, did, against my express wishes and request, and well knowing my determination that I would not go with the multitude to do evil by officiating in my church while such emblems were upon it, you did secretly, and in the dead of night, desecrate my church and profane its precincts by indulging there in strong drink and revelry, while attaching to its very walls, and even actually over the Lord's Table, these unholy emblems of strife." And he proceeds to say that, in consequence of the resistance thus offered to the will of his parishioners, a large number determined no longer to attend on his ministry as a clergyman. We are tempted to cry "Shame," but let us pass. I want to know if there is not something to be said for these men. When they see that the laws are violated, when the wealthy few are set up to remind them of wealth and civil superiority, do not things of this kind excuse or account for proceedings such as I have detailed? and are we not in some degree responsible for exhibitions and manifestations of this kind so long as we continue to maintain the system of ascendency and the Established Church in Ireland? But I must give you another proof of the manner in which the Irish Church tends to mitigate religious animosities. Gentlemen, I am now about to quote some words used in the debate in the House of

Lords of the Session just expired, and used, according to report in the public journals, and, therefore, I presume substantially correct, by a person of the highest eminence—the present Primate of Ireland. He was discussing the Bill called the Suspensory Bill, which, as you are aware, was passed by the House of Commons during the last Session, but which did not succeed in passing the House of Lords. Now, this was the view which he gave of the state of matters in Ireland, he being a prelate at the head of this Church, whose office and whose effect, we are told, it is to mitigate religious animosity,—and I must say, in justice to him, being, I believe, also a good and a kind, as well as an earnest man;—but this is his view of the condition of Ireland and of the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland respectively:—"Don't imagine that if you overthrow the Irish Established Church there will not be, as there was in earlier days, a very extensive emigration of Protestants, comprising many of the best, the soundest, the most loyal, and most industrious of her Majesty's Irish subjects. You will put before the Irish Protestants the choice between apostasy and expatriation, and every man among them who has money or position when he sees his Church go will leave the country. If you do that, you will find Ireland so difficult to manage that you will have to depend on the gibbet and the sword." Now, gentlemen, you have heard these words probably with some astonishment. I look upon them as the too direct and legitimate fruit, not of personal intemperance—for I don't believe the speaker is personally intemperate—but of a bad and inveterate system which has been maintained up to the present day, and which you, together with the rest of the electors of this country, have now to determine upon, either that you will still maintain it, or that you will bring it to the ground. I now pass on from the point to which I referred. I think I have given you some evidence that the allegation that the Irish Church tends to mitigate religious animosity is a statement not only untrue, but ludicrous, when the view taken by the head of the Protestant Church of that country is that if the Protestants were to leave it the means of governing the Roman Catholic population would simply be by the gibbet and the sword. There is another charge that is made, and a plausible charge, which I beg you to consider with me for a little. It is this: we are told that the Irish never will be satisfied. We are told that they invent one demand after another, and that any concession that is made to them only makes them keener to agitate for the next. Well, gentlemen, there is some truth in the statement that the concessions hitherto made have made the Irish people agitate more keenly for what they thought still remained due to them; and I ask of any of you who might happen to be a creditor what you would do if you had a solvent debtor, and if your solvent debtor, having full means to pay you the whole of your just claims, attempted to put it off from time to time by 2s. or 3s. in the pound. You might take the first 3s. if you could do no better, but you would very soon demand another, and when you had got six, perhaps you would try to have ten, and when you had ten you would begin to think of 15. You would say, "It is want of will;" and that is what Ireland has a right to say to England, and Ireland is entitled, in my judgment, to ask of England, not 5s., nor 10s., nor 15s., but 20s. in the pound. Now, gentlemen, our opponents would have you believe that this matter of religious equality in Ireland is a new subject

invented for the purpose of the present hour, and what they say is, First of all, we began by repealing the penal laws; then they wanted the elective franchise, and they got it; then they wanted to come into Parliament, and they got it; and now they are not satisfied with anything but the destruction of the Established Church and the attainment of religious equality; and after that they will demand something else more formidable. This is no novel demand at all, and no novel policy. I beg you to attend carefully to that which I am about to say. The statesmen of two generations ago, with Mr. Pitt at their head, when they were parties to investing the Roman Catholics with a portion of their political rights in the shape of the elective franchise, knew perfectly well what they were doing; and knew perfectly well that that must be followed, and ought to be followed, by their admission into Parliament, and likewise knew that it must be followed by the concession of religious equality. The difference is this, and the only difference is this. At that period the intention undoubtedly was to grant religious equality, not by disestablishing the Church established, but by creating Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches by its side. There is no doubt at all about that. The mode of attaining the end was different, the end itself was the same; and I affirm that the Irish Roman Catholics, in now demanding religious equality, are making a demand, the fairness and equity of which have been allowed by the greatest statesmen who dealt with the affairs of Ireland 50, 60, and 70 years ago. But do not let that, inasmuch as it is important, rest on my mere dictum. I want to give you an answer to make to those who assert that the project of establishing religious equality is a novel invention. Mr. Pitt himself, in proposing the Act of Union, used these words:—"When the conduct of the Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the Government to admit them to a participation of the privileges granted to those of the Established Church"—and that related to the endowment of their Church and of their clergy—"and when the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure, when those events should take place, it was obvious that such a question might be agitated in a united Imperial Parliament with much greater safety than it could be in a separate Legislature." But it does not depend alone upon the declaration of Mr. Pitt. Lord Castlereagh, some 20 years afterwards, said that the reason why the policy of England with respect to Ireland had failed, was because she had chosen to adopt nothing but a series of half measures. As to the mode of attaining religious equality, the views of the Roman Catholics themselves, and the views of the people of this country also, are different now from what they then were. It is quite possible, too, that at that time there might have been no objection to establishing these three Churches, the one by the side of the other, in Ireland; but now, on the contrary, we know that the voice of the three kingdoms is against that method of procedure. But what I want you to observe is that the Roman Catholics' claim to religious equality is no new claim; it was recognised by Mr. Pitt, and by Lord Castlereagh too, shortly after the Union, and recognised as a necessary part of the policy on which that Union was based. There are many other points connected with the Irish Church with which I will not attempt to detain you, as I have fully explained myself at other places. I have pointed out that those persons are wrong who think that, because we take away a bad Church Establishment in Ireland, we therefore desire to take away the

good Church Establishment in England. The Church of England, like the Church of Ireland, must be judged by its works; and so long as, in the judgment of the bulk of the people of this country, the Church of England can abide, she has no fears to entertain for herself from allowing justice to be done in the sister country. Your real choice is between having no Establishment and several Church Establishments. You cannot maintain the Church which now exists and maintain it alone. If you choose — which you do not choose — to adopt the policy of creating a number of religious establishments in Ireland for all the denominations by which that country is peopled, you may do so. But the idea of maintaining the present Establishment alone is wholly out of the question. We may dismiss the plea that the Establishment is maintained for the sake of Protestantism, because we have shown that Protestantism has dwindled under its action. We have heard much within the last 10 or 20 years of several parishes in the west of Ireland where several thousands of Roman Catholics have come over to the Established Church, but it is a most extraordinary fact that that conquest, which appears to be the only one to which the opponents of our course can look—that conquest was made, not by the agency of the Irish Church Establishment, but by a missionary propaganda, established and working from England as its centre; in fact, by the agency of the voluntary principle, and not by the agency of the Established Church. Now, gentlemen, you are here an assembly of Liberals, but do not suppose you can on that account have no interest in the well-being of the Conservative party. So long as England is England there will be a Liberal party and a Conservative party. Ay, even if it were possible to do what I do not think we wish to do—alter the form of the Government of the country—even if we had a republic, we should still have, as there is to so great an extent in America, a Liberal party and a Conservative party, the one wishing to move on more freely and fearlessly, and the other more apprehensive as to the mischief sudden changes might do. Therefore, gentlemen, we have a great interest in the Conservative party. It is for the interest of each party that the other party should be truthful and honest in its proceedings, and firm in its principles. You may rely upon it that you cannot have great demoralisation in one party without that demoralisation tainting and infecting the other; and, therefore, although we are the foes of that party, yet, always presuming they do not so far succeed as to impress their policy on the Government of the country, I wish them well. In my opinion, they have been pursuing a suicidal course; they have forgotten the sources of their strength, they have sought to create a new and fictitious strength in an awkward affectation of liberal methods of proceeding. What is it that we have a right to expect from the Conservative party? Certainly not much instruction in the way of intelligible change, but we have a right to expect firmness and courage in the assertion and maintenance of its principles; and rely upon it that the Liberal party is all the better for being face to face with another party of different shades of opinion, making it its pride and boast to show courage and tenacity in adherence to its creed. That is the especial work of the Conservative party; and although it may be backward with regard to many objects of public utility, it is a useful element in the composition of political society, and such a party will never fail to attract my respect. They may expect from us that

we should be more active in advising a policy of improvement. We may expect from them that they should be more tenacious in insisting on consistency to creed—that is not what we have had at their hands. We have seen within the last two years an unparalleled manœuvre executed by the leaders of that party and by its followers, who perhaps had not much left to them except what is commonly called "Hobson's choice." I am not going to animadvert on the course of proceeding which has resulted in the adoption of political changes from which we anticipate great benefit to the country, and a great increase of strength to the Constitution, but I direct my view to the future, and I ask what is the Conservative creed at this moment? What are the prospects and intentions of the Conservative party with regard to the policy to be pursued in the coming Parliament? (Cries of "None!") A gentleman says "None." Let us see if we can gain any light on this subject, which is one of an entertaining character, if it did not suggest some melancholy reflections. It is really singular to observe how much elbow-room in the direction of Radicalism is allowed at this moment by the agents of the Conservative party to those who come forward under its banner. I read not long ago the manifesto of a gentleman who solicits the suffrages of the vast town of Birmingham in the Conservative interest. Well, now, what does he say? He begins with a legal definition of Trades' Unions, to which I do not object. He then proposes to abolish the law of primogeniture, that is the next article of creed of this Conservative candidate; and the third is to make the use of the ballot optional. Next he goes out of his way to introduce, by way of a side dish at the entertainment, the reform of the Prayer-book, and then he proceeds to state that the last Reform Bill does not at all correspond with his views as to the borough franchise; and the only thing that will satisfy him is residential household suffrage. And that is the man, gentlemen, who is put up, or was put up—for whether he has sunk in the political ocean or not I really do not know—under the colours of the Constitutional party, who, forsooth, oppose Mr. Bright as a dangerous man, who ought on no account to be admitted within the walls of Parliament. Now, gentlemen, one of the objections I have to this method of proceeding is the extreme confusion of ideas it produces. When I hear an address of this character I own to you I do not know whether I stand on my head or on my heels. Though he thinks there ought to be a wide and extensive reform in the Irish Church, yet he objects to the policy that we have proposed for its disestablishment and general disendowment. Well, now, gentlemen, we should see in investigation of this interesting question what is the Conservative creed, that, at all events, we had hit at least upon one article of that creed. The present Government, we will suppose, then, has great toleration and indulgence for all manner of purely political vagaries, but one thing it cannot stand, and that is tampering with the integrity of the Established Church of Ireland. Well, but is this so? Is that the ground that has been adopted by the Constitutional party? Is it the *sine quâ non* of admission into its ranks, or of admission to political office, that the integrity of the Irish Church shall be maintained? No, gentlemen, we don't require to go far for proof that it is not so. I believe our esteemed friend Colonel Wilson Patten has been challenged to say whether, if Mr. Disraeli proposes the disestablishment of the Irish Church,

he will vote against it, and that he has declined to give a reply. And the authority of Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, has been asked whether, under the circumstances, he will resist the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but he says he refuses to go to Parliament with a pledge of that kind. What is it, gentlemen, what will-o'-the-wisp, what phantasm is it that this Constitutional party is proposing to you? We thought that the article of maintaining the Irish Church was really written in their addresses, and on their understanding, and in their hearts. But it does not appear that that is the case with those gentlemen in high authority. I will take another case relating to a person whom I cannot but name with unfeigned respect—the younger son of Lord Derby. What kind of allegiance does he profess to the Irish Church, which it is our wickedness that we are endeavouring to tamper with? He says, "In the legislation which will presumably follow upon the proceedings of the Commission, there must, I conceive, be some considerable departure from the plan of simply rearranging within the limits of the Established Church the endowments of which she is now the recipient, and it is impossible to avoid seeing that the present temper of the country is against making, on the one hand, any further charge on the revenues of the United Kingdom in aid of religious bodies unconnected with the Established Church, while, on the other hand, there are means which in many instances are undoubtedly superfluous for uses for which they had been originally intended." Now, that cuts a pretty large hole in the remaining article in the Conservative creed, for it appears perfectly possible, without losing any title to be a Conservative in North-West Lancashire, for a man like Colonel Wilson Patten to decline to pledge himself what to do, if Mr. Disraeli gives the word of command, against the Established Church, and perfectly possible for the younger son of Lord Derby—it is not necessary to ask what the elder son of Lord Derby is disposed to do—plainly to proclaim to you that in his opinion the property of the Church of Ireland cannot be, and ought not to be, confined to the uses of that Church. So much for that half of the one article of the Conservative creed. But there is another half to it, and it is this. You have heard an infinity of outcry about Popery and about the Liberals and the Nonconformists of this country, and the Presbyterians of Scotland, as being the insidious agents and friends of Popery. The meaning of that is a charge that they intend to give the Church property taken from the Church to the religious uses of the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics. That is the charge that is insinuated under these words. You know perfectly well how untrue it is; you know that we who, as public men, have taken part in this movement, have from the time when the Government glanced at a plan of that kind declared our insurmountable objection to it; and you know also that even if we had not declared that objection, even if we had been so unwise as to fall in with that policy, the determined resistance of the people of the three countries would have made it impossible to carry it into effect. But I am now testing the Conservative creed, and I have shown you the Conservative creed allows of taking away money from the Established Church. But let us see if it does not also allow of giving money for the

purposes of the Roman Catholics as well. I find in the address of Captain Stanley these words:—"I should strongly resist any plan which tended to secularise any part of revenues which have been solemnly and deliberately devoted to religious purposes by their donors." Now, observe those two things, gentlemen. On the one hand, money is to be taken from the Established Church of Ireland; on the other hand, the money is not to be secularised. Now, as to the meaning of the word "secularised." I should like to give you one sentence. Some gentlemen have asked me if I am in favour of secularising this property. I should like to ask them what is meant by to secularise Church property. If they are governed in the exposition of the term by history and law, they would find it rather difficult to explain, because, gentlemen, you ought to know in ancient times in the greater part, if not the whole, of Europe, the law of the Church divided the Church property into four parts. Of those four parts, one, I think, if I remember rightly, went to the bishop, one went to the clergy, one went to the fabric, and one went to the poor. Well, but if the ancient ecclesiastical law and the ancient canon law of Europe in the Middle Ages recognised the needs of the people, especially the poorer part of the people, as being within the legitimate application of Church property, then I think I have a right to ask those who ask me whether I am for secularising the property of the Irish Church, what they mean by the word to "secularise;" and whether they intend to establish a new foundation of Church law, and to impose a stricter definition on the uses of Church property than our forefathers in Roman Catholic times—six or eight hundred or one thousand years ago? But there is no doubt what Captain Stanley means by secularising Church property. He thinks that money ought to be taken from the uses of the Established Church and given, not to the uses he calls secular, but to the direct purpose of teaching religion outside the Established Church—that is, to the uses of the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics in Ireland. Well, therefore, gentlemen, so far as Captain Stanley is concerned, is it not perfectly idle that the men of North-West Lancashire should be stirred up in the name of the Constitution, in the name of Church and State, in the name of the Queen's supremacy, and I know not what, but probably in the name of "No Popery" too, to support a man who is going to do for religious bodies in Ireland that which his opponent and my noble friend Lord Hartington steadily refuse to do? And is this only an examination of the creed of an individual? Certainly not. The son of Lord Derby never can be unimportant as an individual, and the son of Lord Derby is not merely the son of Lord Derby, he is the latest addition to the official phalanx of Her Majesty's Government. And in the very crisis and heat of this election a man who undisguisedly and manfully proclaims his intention to take the property of the Irish Church and to give it to other religious bodies for their purposes as religious bodies—that very man is at this moment brought forward, and not only put forward and adopted by the party in North-West Lancashire, but is taken into the body of the Administration which has declared that our plan of disestablishing the Church will inflict upon the country consequences worse than those of foreign conquest. Now, gentlemen, is it possible for inconsistency, for absurdity, for mockery to public understanding, to go further than

this? Well, gentlemen, we cut down the Conservative creed to one article, then we cut off half of that article, and now we have cut out the remaining half. And what is the Conservative or Constitutional creed? Why, it is this, gentlemen. It is not to support any one measure or any one institution; it is not to be bound to the maintenance of any one principle. It is simply this—to this article I believe there will be a rigid adherence—it is to intend to vote for maintaining Her Majesty's Government in power.

Having spoken of the Conservative party, I will now, if you will allow me, say a few words upon the position of the Conservative Government, which is undoubtedly a very peculiar one. Gentlemen, I am not here to say that I think the principles upon which that Ministry has acted are compatible with what is called political honour, but I am here to say, without the smallest doubt, that great advantage has been derived from the laxity of their creed and practice—I will not say now with regard to the question of Reform, which is for the moment, as to most of its points at all events, set aside; but immense advantage has redounded to the country with respect to this great question of the condition of Ireland and the disestablishment of the Irish Church, from the fact that the Conservative Government have been in office. I am thankful from my heart, on public grounds, that at the commencement of this year it was they and not we who held the reins of State. Being in office they were under responsibility; when in office it was impossible for them to overlook the fact, however little they may now try to make of it, that for three years constitutional and personal liberty had been suspended in Ireland as an absolute necessity for the maintenance of the public peace and the security of life and property. They could not avoid announcing an Irish policy, and in that they could not escape the question of education and religion. They were compelled to declare their intentions, which were wholly foreign and opposed to the general and deliberate decisions of the people of this country, who, with the people of Ireland, would not accept the policy which was shadowed out by the First Minister of the Crown and by the Minister of Ireland. According to that policy we were now, for the first time, to maintain out of the public purse a University for the purposes of a particular religious denomination, and two new Established Churches were to be created and endowed in Ireland. An enormous strength was given to us and to our cause by these extraordinary intentions, and by the adoption of this policy by the Government it gave us a vantage-ground which we have never lost. It prevented Her Majesty's Government from appealing, as they might otherwise have appealed, to the religious passion of the country with boldness and with effect. But suppose we had been in office and they had been in Opposition, it would have been our duty to propose the very same thing that we have proposed now; but we should have heard nothing then about the willingness of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to establish religious equality in Ireland. We should have heard nothing of the Roman Catholic University, and there would have been nothing but an animated, passionate, spirit-stirring appeal to the Protestant feeling of the country by 280 gentlemen in Parliament, bound together for a sacred principle, firm and chivalrous in their adherence to that principle, and deter-

mined to defend it to the death. That would have been an opposition much more formidable for us to confront than the half-hearted, indecisive, paltering opposition—that paltering opposition that we have met with, watered down to the extreme of debility: the Government telling us, in a great Constitutional battle, that we should wait until the opening of a new Parliament—sometimes flying to the seventh heaven of rhetorical exaggeration, and telling us that we were proposing that which was worse than foreign conquest. All these absurdities—all these refusals to be bound and pledged in matters elementary in the creed of every practical statesman—all these declarations that it is necessary to reduce bishops, to remodel the Church—all those declarations, like those of Lord Stanley, that portions of its revenue must be given to other religions—what do they show? They show the voice of the Tower of Babel. There are scarcely two men who speak in the same language. One man is for one policy, another man for another; and it is amid these disordered ranks, I am thankful and happy to say, that the great Liberal army of the country, knowing its own mind and purpose, approaches it from stage to stage with the firm determination that, so far as depends on human strength and courage, our end shall be attained. I sometimes hear it said that it is the intention of the Government to give way, and that they will produce at the commencement of Parliament a plan larger, more comprehensive, more sweeping than that which up to this time we have been accustomed to consider comprehensive enough, and which is now before you in the name of the Liberal party. Now, do you think there is any foundation for that, or do you not? I cannot tell, but it is a legitimate subject for political speculation. There is nothing new under the sun; and after what has happened in former days, this may happen in the days that are about to come. Our business is to be prepared for all contingencies, and it is impossible for me to express a confident opinion whether, when the new Parliament meets, the language of the Government will be that the disestablishment of the Irish Church is worse than foreign conquest, or that their objection to our mode of proceeding was merely that it was too limited and narrow a method; that, instead of legislating, instead of devising great and statesmanlike schemes, we merely pottered over the production of a miserable abortion, but that they are the men who will make a clean sweep of the whole concern. On that ground we challenge the adhesion of the Liberals of this country; these are the two alternatives, and I am not bold or confident enough to tell you which will be presented to you; but I wish to make this observation. I have said that I am thankful the present Government were in power when we were able to produce this great question, and bring it to a position so advanced; but I cannot allow this method of the passing of measures by men who, in principle, are utterly opposed to them, to be dismissed from view without a remark.

Unfortunately, a very large number of the great measures of our time have been passed by those parties. The repeal of the Test Act of 1828 was forced on the Government of the Duke of Wellington. Roman Catholic Emancipation, in 1829, was forced upon the same Government. The first plan of Reform in Parliament, which took effect in 1832, was resisted by the Tory party of this country until they were compelled

to read the whole question in the lurid light of the fires of Bristol and of Nottingham. That is not all. After that came the controversy on the Corn-laws. Sir Robert Peel determined not to wait for a popular convulsion, and what was his reward?—that he left political life as a man proscribed by the party which he had led. This does not exhaust the catalogue. The same course was unfortunately pursued with regard to the second chapter of the history of Reform. Reform was stoutly, tenaciously resisted throughout the Session of 1866, until we were ejected from office, and it was again rejected when the population of London, indignant at the manner in which the subject was paltered with, began to meet in great assemblies, claimed the right to go to Hyde Park and make known their grievances, and when the world was astounded at hearing that in the centre of the English metropolis the railings of Hyde Park had been torn down. You see the policy of the party opposed to you. It is not that you will not get from them the measures you get from us: it is that you will get them at that stage at which, instead of enlightened conviction, a slavish fear has become the motive. Now I aver, without fear of contradiction, that this Constitutional party, by waiting, strikes a blow at the Constitution such as we have never dealt to it; that it destroys faith, destroys confidence, destroys the ties which bind man to man in public as well as in private life, and undermines at once the belief of the people in the fidelity and sagacity of their rulers and their disposition to respect even the sternest resolves of the Government; when we know from a long and repeated experience that all which is required of them is to be a little more violent, a little more menacing, to take steps to violate the laws of the country, and then that all they desire will be conceded. Do not for one moment suppose that I mean to compare the proceedings of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel with regard to Roman Catholic emancipation with the proceedings we have recently witnessed, for when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, foregoing their deep and cherished convictions, frankly told the country that they accepted emancipation, not as a good, but as the lesser of two evils, and that if the people of this country were not prepared to accept it they must be prepared for the risk—when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel made that avowal, however painful to themselves or whatever disparagement it might imply to their political sagacity, at least they acted the part of honest and straightforward and truth-speaking men, and that was a great mitigation of the evil; but the climax of mischief is at last arrived when those who execute these extraordinary changes of opinion and of conduct, instead of frankly confessing, after the manner of those distinguished statesmen, that they have seen cause to change, and therefore have changed, have to invent far-fetched and flimsy notions about their own long-cherished opinions, about the "education" of their party, and I know not what, and by palming upon the public all those miserable pretexts, convert that which would at any rate be an honourable retreat into a retreat which is utterly ignominious. Gentlemen, as I have said that, allow me to except from the scope of my proposition one statesman. There is one statesman connected with the Government who was a party to that great change of opinion and of policy, but who has not attempted to disguise it—and I am thankful to

say that he is a Lancashire man—I mean Lord Stanley. Lord Stanley descended to none of these subterfuges. At the Conservative banquet at Bristol, he said to the assembled guests, "Rely upon it, gentlemen, we shall not abandon the posts we were appointed to defend without having first arrived at the clear conviction that it was necessary for the public good." That was an honest and a manly declaration, and I respect the man who made it. It is in my power to do little towards placing you in a position to form enlightened judgments on public affairs, but I rejoice to think how abundant are the aids and instruments now supplied in every shape to the masses of the population in this country, and especially to that which is not the least intelligent portion of our population—I mean the people of Lancashire. So, that, however I might regret my own defective power, I feel satisfied that you will be well supplied with adequate opportunities and means of judging the right. And, gentlemen, it is needful that you should, for you have a great responsibility before you. The Duke of Wellington in 1829 glanced at civil war, and said, "You must take the policy recommended, or else as honest men and courageous men you must be prepared to face the consequences." I have only to point to the actual state of Ireland to show that in Ireland you have been obliged to put an end to personal freedom, and that the liberty of the people depends upon the will of the Executive Government, instead of the firm foundation of the law. You may judge from that, and I trust you will judge, whether there is or is not a necessity for dealing boldly and resolutely with the case of Ireland, be it by the present Government, or be it any other. Let the present Government propose the policy of resistance or the policy of concession, I feel certain that I may presume to say, on the part of the bulk of those professing Liberal opinions, our course will be governed by no mere avidity for office—which we have on a former occasion known how to sacrifice when we thought it would serve the interests of the country—but simply by a desire to discern in what way, of all the ways that shall be opened to us, we ought to walk in order to promote our internal welfare. It is clear the Church of Ireland offers to us indeed a great question, but even that question is but one of a group of questions. There is the Church of Ireland, there is the land of Ireland, there is the education of Ireland: there are many subjects, all of which depend upon one greater than them all; they are all so many branches from one trunk, and that trunk is the tree of what is called Protestant ascendency. Gentlemen, I look, for one, to this Protestant people to put down Protestant ascendency which pretends to seek its objects by doing homage to religious truth, and instead of consecrating politics desecrates religion. It is upon that system that we are banded together to make war. So long as that system subsists, our covenant endures for the prosecution of that purpose for which we seek your assistance; and because although, as I said early in these remarks, we have paid instalments to Ireland, the mass of the people would not be worthy to be free if they were satisfied with instalments, or if they could be contented with anything less than justice. We therefore aim at the destruction of that system of ascendency which, though it has been crippled and curtailed by former measures, yet still must be allowed by all to exist. It

is still there, like a tall tree of noxious growth, lifting its head to heaven and darkening and poisoning the land so far as its shadow can extend; it is still there, gentlemen, and now at length the day has come when, as we hope, the axe has been laid to the root of that tree, and it nods and quivers from its top to its base. It wants, gentlemen, one stroke more—the stroke of these elections. It will then, once for all, totter to its fall, and on the day when it falls the heart of Ireland will leap for joy, and the mind and conscience of England and Scotland will repose with thankful satisfaction upon the idea that something has been done towards the discharge of national duty, and towards deepening and widening the foundations of public strength, security, and peace.

LONDON: R. K. BURT, PRINTER, WINE OFFICE COURT, FLEET STREET

# A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

A

# CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

BY

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

"Blame not, before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke."—ECCLESIASTICUS, ch. ii.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1868.

*The right of Translation is reserved.*

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

# INTRODUCTION.

At a time when the Established Church of Ireland is on her trial, it is not unfair that her assailants should be placed upon their trial too: most of all, if they have at one time been her sanguine defenders.

But if not the matter of the indictment against them, at any rate that of their defence, should be kept apart, as far as they are concerned, from the public controversy, that it may not darken or perplex the greater issue.

It is in the character of the author of a book called 'The State in its Relations with the Church,' that I offer these pages to those who may feel a disposition to examine them. They were written at the date attached to them; but their publication has been delayed until after the stress of the General Election.

A

# CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY is commonly interesting; but there can, I suppose, be little doubt that, as a general rule, it should be posthumous. The close of an active career supplies an obvious exception: for this resembles the gentle death which, according to ancient fable, was rather imparted than inflicted by the tender arrows of Apollo and of Artemis. I have asked myself many times, during the present year, whether peculiar combinations of circumstance might not also afford a warrant at times for departure from the general rule, so far as some special passage of life is concerned; and whether I was not myself now placed in one of those special combinations.

The motives, which incline me to answer these questions in the affirmative, are mainly two. First, that the great and glaring change in my course of action with respect to the Established Church of Ireland is not the mere eccentricity, or even perversion, of an individual mind, but connects itself with silent changes, which are advancing in the very bed and basis of modern society. Secondly, that the progress of a great cause, signal as it has been and is, appears liable nevertheless to suffer in point of credit, if not of energy and rapidity, from the real or supposed

delinquencies of a person, with whose name for the moment it happens to be specially associated.

One thing is clear: that if I am warranted in treating my own case as an excepted case, I am bound so to treat it. It is only with a view to the promotion of some general interest, that the public can becomingly be invited to hear more, especially in personal history, about an individual, of whom they already hear too much. But if it be for the general interest to relieve 'an enterprise of pith and moment' from the odium of baseness, and from the lighter reproach of precipitancy, I must make the attempt; though the obtrusion of the first person, and of all that it carries in its train, must be irksome alike to the reader and the writer.

So far, indeed, as my observation has gone, the Liberal party of this country have stood fire unflinchingly under the heavy vollies which have been fired into its camp with ammunition that had been drawn from depositories full only with matter personal to myself. And, with the confidence they entertain in the justice and wisdom of the policy they recommend, it would have been weak and childish to act otherwise. Still, I should be glad to give them the means of knowing that the case may not after all be so scandalous as they are told. In the year 1827, if I remember right, when Mr. Canning had just become Prime Minister, an effort was made to support him in the town of Liverpool, where the light and music of his eloquence had not yet died away, by an Address to the Crown. The proposal was supported by an able and cultivated Unitarian Minister, Mr. Shepherd, who had been one of Mr. Canning's oppo-

nents at former periods in the Liverpool elections. Vindicating the consistency of his course, he said he was ready to support the devil himself, if it had been necessary, in doing good. This was a succinct and rough manner of disposing of the question in the last resort. I hope, however, that those who sustain the Liberal policy respecting the Established Church of Ireland, will not be driven to so dire an extremity. It can hardly be deemed on my part an unnatural desire, that political friends, and candid observers, should on grounds of reason and knowledge, and not merely from friendly prepossession, feel themselves warranted not to believe in the justice of language such as by way of example I subjoin. I must, however, suppose that the author of it is persuaded of its fairness and justice, since he bears Her Majesty's Commission; and his statement is adopted and published by a brother-officer, who is himself a candidate for Berwick in the ministerial interest, and therefore (I presume) not particularly squeamish on the subject of political consistency, although I entertain no doubt that both are gallant, upright, and estimable gentlemen.

"There is obviously no need, on the present occasion at least, to extend this catalogue of the political delinquencies of this would-be demagogue, whom we may accordingly leave gibbeted and swinging in the winds of the fools' paradise! an object of derision and contempt to those at least who maintain that integrity of purpose and consistency ought not altogether to be discarded from public life."*

It freezes the blood, in moments of retirement and reflexion, for a man to think that he can have pre-

* From a placard just published at Berwick.

sented a picture so hideous to the view of a fellow-creature!

One thing I have not done, and shall not do. I shall not attempt to laugh off the question, or to attenuate its importance. In theory at least, and for others, I am myself a purist with respect to what touches the consistency of statesmen. Change of opinion, in those to whose judgment the public looks more or less to assist its own, is an evil to the country, although a much smaller evil than their persistence in a course which they know to be wrong. It is not always to be blamed. But it is always to be watched with vigilance; always to be challenged, and put upon its trial. The question is one of so much interest, that it may justify a few remarks.

It can hardly escape even cursory observation, that the present century has seen a great increase in the instances of what is called political inconsistency. It is needless, and it would be invidious, to refer to names. Among the living, however, who have occupied leading positions, and among the dead of the last twenty years, numerous instances will at once occur to the mind, of men who have been constrained to abandon in middle and mature, or even in advanced life, convictions which they had cherished through long years of conflict and vicissitude: and of men, too, who have not been so fortunate as to close or continue their career in the same political connexion as that in which they commenced it. If we go a little farther back, to the day of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, or even to the day of Mr. Canning, Lord Londonderry, or Lord Liverpool, we must be struck with the difference. A great political and social convul-

sion, like the French Revolution, of necessity deranged the ranks of party; yet not even then did any man of great name, or of a high order of mind, permanently change his side.

If we have witnessed in the last forty years, beginning with the epoch of Roman Catholic Emancipation, a great increase in the changes of party, or of opinion, among prominent men, we are not at once to leap to the conclusion that public character, as a rule, has been either less upright, or even less vigorous. The explanation is rather to be found in this, that the movement of the public mind has been of a nature entirely transcending former experience; and that it has likewise been more promptly and more effectively represented, than at any earlier period, in the action of the Government and the Legislature.

If it is the office of law and of institutions to reflect the wants and wishes of the country, (and its wishes must ever be a considerable element in its wants), then, as the nation passes from a stationary into a progressive period, it will justly require that the changes in its own condition and views should be represented in the professions and actions of its leading men. For they exist for its sake, not it for theirs. It remains indeed their business, now and ever, to take honour and duty for their guides, and not the mere demand or purpose of the passing hour; but honour and duty themselves require their loyal servant to take account of the state of facts in which he is to work, and, while ever labouring to elevate the standard of opinion and action around him, to remember that his business is not to construct, with self-chosen materials, an Utopia or a Republic of Plato, but to conduct the affairs of

a living and working community of men, who have self-government recognised as in the last resort the moving spring of their political life, and of the institutions which are its outward vesture.

The gradual transfer of political power from groups and limited classes to the community, and the constant seething of the public mind, in fermentation upon a vast mass of moral and social, as well as merely political, interests, offer conditions of action, in which it is evident that the statesman, in order to preserve the same amount of consistency as his antecessors in other times, must be gifted with a far larger range of foresight. But Nature has endowed him with no such superiority. It may be true that Sir Robert Peel shewed this relative deficiency in foresight, with reference to Roman Catholic Emancipation, to Reform, and to the Corn Law. It does not follow that many, who have escaped the reproach, could have stood the trial. For them the barometer was less unsteady; the future less exacting in its demands. But let us suppose that we could secure this enlargement of onward view, this faculty of measuring and ascertaining to-day the wants of a remote hereafter, in our statesmen; we should not even then be at the end of our difficulties. For the public mind is to a great degree unconscious of its own progression; and it would resent and repudiate, if offered to its immature judgment, the very policy, which after a while it will gravely consider, and after another while enthusiastically embrace.

Yet, as it still remains true that the actual opinions and professions of men in office, and men in authority without office, are among the main landmarks

on which the public has to rely, it may seem that, in vindicating an apparent liberty of change, we destroy the principal guarantees of integrity which are available for the nation at large, and with these all its confidence in the persons who are to manage its affairs. This would be a consequence so fatal, that it might even drive us back upon the hopeless attempt to stereotype the minds of men, and fasten on their manhood the swaddling clothes of their infancy. But such is not the alternative. We may regulate the changes which we cannot forbid, by subjecting them to the test of public scrutiny, and by directing that scrutiny to the enforcement of the laws of moral obligation. There are abundant signs, by which to distinguish between those changes, which prove nothing worse than the fallibility of the individual mind, and manœuvres which destroy confidence, and entail merited dishonour. Changes which are sudden and precipitate—changes accompanied with a light and contemptuous repudiation of the former self—changes which are systematically timed and tuned to the interest of personal advancement—changes which are hooded, slurred over, or denied—for these changes, and such as these, I have not one word to say; and if they can be justly charged upon me, I can no longer desire that any portion, however small, of the concerns or interests of my countrymen should be lodged in my hands.

Let me now endeavour to state the offence of which I am held guilty. *Ille ego qui quondam:* I, the person who have now accepted a foremost share of the responsibility of endeavouring to put an end to the existence of the Irish Church as an Establish-

ment, am also the person who, of all men in official, perhaps in public life, did, until the year 1841, recommend, upon the highest and most imperious grounds, its resolute maintenance.

The book entitled 'The State in its Relations with the Church' was printed during the autumn of 1838, while I was making a tour in the South of Europe, which the state of my eyesight had rendered it prudent to undertake. Three editions of it were published without textual change; and in the year 1841 a fourth, greatly enlarged, though in other respects little altered, issued from the press. All interest in it had, however, even at that time, long gone by, and it lived for nearly thirty years only in the vigorous and brilliant, though not (in my opinion) entirely faithful picture, drawn by the accomplished hand of Lord Macaulay. During the present year, as I understand from good authority, it has again been in demand, and in my hearing it has received the emphatic suffrages of many, of whose approval I was never made aware during the earlier and less noisy stages of its existence.

The distinctive principle of the book was supposed to be, that the State had a conscience. But the controversy really lies not in the existence of a conscience in the State, so much as in the extent of its range. Few would deny the obligation of a State to follow the moral law. Every Treaty, for example, proceeds upon it. The true issue was this: whether the State, in its best condition, has such a conscience as can take cognizance of religious truth and error, and in particular whether the State of the United Kingdom, at a period somewhat exceeding thirty years ago, was

or was not so far in that condition as to be under an obligation to give an active and an exclusive support to the established religion of the country.

The work attempted to survey the actual state of the relations between the State and the Church; to show from History the ground which had been defined for the National Church at the Reformation; and to inquire and determine whether the existing state of things was worth preserving, and defending against encroachment from whatever quarter. This question it decided emphatically in the affirmative.

An early copy of the Review containing the powerful essay of Lord Macaulay was sent to me; and I found that to the main proposition, sufficiently startling, of the work itself, the reviewer had added this assumption, that it contemplated not indeed persecution, but yet the retrogressive process of disabling and disqualifying from civil office all those who did not adhere to the religion of the State. Before (I think) the number of the 'Edinburgh Review' for April, 1839, could have been in the hands of the public, I had addressed to Lord (then Mr.) Macaulay the following letter, which I shall make no apology for inserting, inasmuch as it will introduce one more morsel of his writing, for which the public justly shows a keen and insatiable appetite.

DEAR SIR, 6, Carlton Gardens, April 10th, 1839.

I have been favoured with a copy of the forthcoming number of the 'Edinburgh Review,' and I perhaps too much presume upon the bare acquaintance with you of which alone I can boast, in thus unceremoniously assuming you to be the author of the article entitled 'Church and State,' and in offering you my very warm and cordial thanks

for the manner in which you have treated both the work, and the author, on whom you deigned to bestow your attention. In whatever you write, you can hardly hope for the privilege of most anonymous productions, a real concealment; but if it had been possible not to recognize you, I should have questioned your authorship in this particular case, because the candour and single-mindedness which it exhibits are, in one who has long been connected in the most distinguished manner with political party, so rare as to be almost incredible.

I hope to derive material benefit, at some more tranquil season, from a consideration of your argument throughout. I am painfully sensible, whenever I have occasion to re-open the book, of its shortcomings, not only of the subject but even of my own conceptions: and I am led to suspect that, under the influence of most kindly feelings, you have omitted to criticize many things besides the argument, which might fairly have come within your animadversion.

In the mean time I hope you will allow me to apprise you that on one material point especially I am not so far removed from you as you suppose. I am not conscious that I have said either that the *Test Act* should be repealed, or that it should not have been passed: and though on such subjects language has many bearings which escape the view of the writer at the moment when the pen is in his hand, yet I think that I can hardly have put forth either of these propositions, because I have never entertained the corresponding sentiments. Undoubtedly I should speak of the pure abstract idea of Church and State as implying that they are co-extensive: and I should regard the present composition of the State of the United Kingdom as a deviation from that pure idea, but only in the same sense as all differences of religious opinion in the Church are a deviation from its pure idea, while I not only allow that they are permitted, but believe that (within limits) they were intended to be permitted. There are some of these deflections from abstract theory which appear to me allowable; and that of the admission of persons not holding the national creed into civil office is one which, in my view, must be determined

by times and circumstances. At the same time I do not recede from any protest which I have made against the principle, that religious differences are irrelevant to the question of competency for civil office: but I would take my stand between the opposite extremes, the one that no such differences are to be taken into view, the other that all such differences are to constitute disqualifications.

I need hardly say the question I raise is not whether you have misrepresented me, for, were I disposed to anything so weak, the whole internal evidence and clear intention of your article would confute me: indeed I feel I ought to apologize for even supposing that you may have been mistaken in the apprehension of my meaning, and I freely admit on the other hand the possibility that, totally without my own knowledge, my language may have led to such an interpretation.

In these lacerating times one clings to everything of personal kindness in the past, to husband it for the future, and if you will allow me I shall earnestly desire to carry with me such a recollection of your mode of dealing with the subject; upon which, the attainment of truth, we shall agree, so materially depends upon the temper in which the search for it is instituted and conducted.

I did not mean to have troubled you at so much length, and I have only to add that I am, with much respect,

Dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

T. B. Macaulay, Esq.

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My dear Sir, 3, Clarges Street, April 11th, 1839.

I have very seldom been more gratified than by the very kind note which I have just received from you. Your book itself, and everything that I heard about you, though almost all my information came—to the honour, I must say, of our troubled times—from people very strongly opposed to you in politics, led me to regard you with respect and good will,

and I am truly glad that I have succeeded in marking those feelings. I was half afraid when I read myself over again in print, that the button, as is too common in controversial fencing even between friends, had once or twice come off the foil.

I am very glad to find that we do not differ so widely as I had apprehended about the Test Act. I can easily explain the way in which I was misled. Your general principle is that religious non-conformity ought to be a disqualification for civil office. In page 238 you say that the true and authentic mode of ascertaining conformity is the Act of Communion. I thought, therefore, that your theory pointed directly to a renewal of the Test Act. And I do not recollect that you have ever used any expression importing that your theory ought in practice to be modified by any considerations of civil prudence. All the exceptions that you mention are, as far as I remember, founded on positive contract—not one on expediency, even in cases where the expediency is so strong and so obvious that most statesmen would call it necessity. If I had understood that you meant your rules to be followed out in practice only so far as might be consistent with the peace and good government of society, I should certainly have expressed myself very differently in several parts of my article.

Accept my warm thanks for your kindness, and believe me, with every good wish,

My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

T. B. Macaulay.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Faithful to logic, and to its theory, my work did not shrink from applying them to the crucial case of the Irish Church. It did not disguise the difficulties of the case, for I was alive to the paradox it involved. But the one master idea of the system, that the State as it then stood was capable in this age, as it had

been in ages long gone by, of assuming beneficially a responsibility for the inculcation of a particular religion, carried me through all. My doctrine was, that the Church, as established by law, was to be maintained for its truth; that this was the only principle on which it could be properly and permanently upheld; that this principle, if good in England, was good also for Ireland; that truth is of all possessions the most precious to the soul of man; and that to remove, as I then erroneously thought we should remove, this priceless treasure from the view and the reach of the Irish people, would be meanly to purchase their momentary favour at the expense of their permanent interests, and would be a high offence against our own sacred obligations.

These, I think, were the leading propositions of the work. In one important point, however, it was inconsistent with itself; it contained a full admission that a State might, by its nature and circumstances, be incapacitated from upholding and propagating a definite form of religion.*

"There may be a state of things in the United States of America, perhaps in some British colonies, there does actually exist a state of things, in which religious communions are so equally divided, or so variously subdivided, that the Government is itself similarly chequered in its religious complexion, and thus internally incapacitated by disunion from acting in matters of religion; or, again, there may be a State in which the members of Government may be of one faith or persuasion, the mass of the subjects of another, and hence there may be an external incapacity to act in matters of religion."

* 'The State in its Relations with the Church,' ch. ii., sect. 71, p. 73. Editions 1-3.

The book goes on to describe that incapacity, however produced, as a social defect and calamity. But the latter part of the work, instead of acknowledging such incapacity as a sufficient and indeed commanding plea for abstention, went beyond the bounds of moderation, and treated it as if it must in all cases be a sin; as though any association of men, in civil government or otherwise, could be responsible for acting beyond the line of the capabilities determined for it by its constitution and composition. My meaning I believe was, to describe only cases in which there might be a deliberate renunciation of such duties as there was the power to fulfil. But the line is left too obscurely drawn between this wilful and wanton rejection of opportunities for good, and the cases in which the state of religious convictions, together with the recognised principles of government, disable the civil power from including within its work the business of either directly or indirectly inculcating religion, and mark out for it a different line of action.

I believe that the foregoing passages describe fairly, if succinctly, the main propositions of 'The State in its Relations with the Church;' so far as the book bears upon the present controversy. They bound me hand and foot: they hemmed me in on every side. Further on I shall endeavour to indicate more clearly in what I think the book was right, and in what it was wrong. What I have now to show is the manner in which I retreated from an untenable position. To this retreat, and the time and mode of it, I now draw attention, and I will endeavour to apply to them the tests I have already laid down:—Was it sudden?

Was it performed with an indecent levity? Was it made to minister to the interests of political ambition? Was the gravity of the case denied or understated? Was it daringly pretended that there had been no real change of front; and that, if the world had understood me otherwise, it had misunderstood me? My opinion of the Established Church of Ireland now is the direct opposite of what it was then. I then thought it reconcilable with civil and national justice; I now think the maintenance of it grossly unjust. I then thought its action was favourable to the interests of the religion which it teaches; I now believe it to be opposed to them.

But I must venture to point out that, whatever be the sharpness of this contradiction, it is one from which I could not possibly escape by endeavouring to maintain the Established Church of Ireland on the principles on which it is now maintained. I challenge all my censors to impugn me when I affirm that, if the propositions of my work are in conflict (as they are) with an assault upon the existence of the Irish Establishment, they are at least as much, or even more, hostile to the grounds on which it is now attempted to maintain it. At no time of my life did I propound the maxim *simpliciter* that we were to maintain the Establishment. I appeal to the few who may have examined my work otherwise than for the purpose of culling from it passages which would tell in a quotation. I appeal to the famous article of Lord Macaulay,* who says with truth—

"Mr. Gladstone's whole theory rests on this great fundamental proposition, that the propagation of re-

* 'Edinburgh Review,' April, 1839, p. 235.

ligious truth is one of the principal ends of government, as government. If Mr. Gladstone has not proved this proposition, *his system vanishes at once.*"

This was entirely just. In the protest I addressed to the distinguished Reviewer on a particular point, I took no exception to it whatever. My work had used (as far as I believe and remember) none of the stock arguments for maintaining the Church of Ireland. I did not say "maintain it, lest you should disturb the settlement of property." I did not say "maintain it, lest you should be driven to repeal the Union." I did not say "maintain it, lest you should offend and exasperate the Protestants." I did not say "maintain it, because the body known as the Irish Church has an indefeasible title to its property." I did not say "maintain it for the spiritual benefit of a small minority." Least of all did I say "maintain it, but establish religious equality, setting up at the public charge other establishments along with it, or by distributing a sop here and a sop there, to coax Roman Catholics and Presbyterians into a sort of acquiescence in its being maintained." These topics I never had made my own. Scarcely ever, in the first efforts of debate, had I referred to one of them. My trumpet, however shrill and feeble, had at least rung out its note clearly. And my ground, right or wrong it matters not for the present purpose, was this: the Church of Ireland must be maintained for the benefit of the whole people of Ireland, and must be maintained as the truth, or it cannot be maintained at all.

Accordingly my book contended that the principle of the Grant to Maynooth, unless as a simply cove-

nanted obligation,* and that of the Established Church of Ireland, could not stand together. In the House of Commons, on the question relating to the Grant, I am reported as having said in the year 1838,† that I objected to the Grant because it was fatal to the main principle on which the Established Church was founded.

And further. The Liberal Government and party of that day proposed, in 1835 and the following years, the famous "Appropriation Clause." The principle of their measure was, that the surplus funds only of the Irish Church were to be applied to popular education, after adequate provision had been made for the spiritual wants of the Protestants. This principle, that adequate provision is to be made for the spiritual wants of the Protestants, before any other claim on the property of the Irish Church can be admitted, was the basis of the Appropriation Clause; and is, as I understand the matter, the very principle which is now maintained against the Liberal party of 1868, by the (so-called) defenders of the Irish Established Church. But this principle I denounced in 1836 as strongly as I could now do. I extract the following passage from a report in 'Hansard,' which, as I remember, I had myself corrected, of a speech on the Irish Tithe Bill with the Appropriation Clause:—‡

"A Church Establishment is maintained either for the sake of its members or its doctrines; for those whom it

* p. 252.

† 'Mirror of Parliament,' Monday, July 30, 1838. The passage, which is full and clear, is more briefly given, but to the same effect, in 'Hansard,' vol. xliv. p. 817.

‡ June 1, 1836. 'Hansard,' vol. xxxiii. p. 1317.

teaches, or for that which it teaches. On the former ground it is not in equity tenable for a moment.

"Why should any preference be given to me over another fellow-subject, or what claim have I personally to have my religion supported, whilst another is disavowed by the State? No claim whatever in respect to myself. I concur entirely with gentlemen opposite, hostile to an Establishment, that no personal privilege ought in such a matter to be allowed.

"But if, on the contrary, I believe, as the great bulk of the British Legislature does believe, that the doctrine and system of the Establishment contain and exhibit truth in its purest and most effective form, and if we also believe truth to be good for the people universally, then we have a distinct and immovable ground for the maintenance of an Establishment; but it follows as a matter of course from the principle, that it must be maintained, not on a scale exactly and strictly adjusted to the present number of its own members, but on such a scale that it may also have the means of offering to others the benefits which it habitually administers to them.

"Therefore we wish to see the Establishment in Ireland upheld; not for the sake of the Protestants, but of the people at large, that the ministers may be enabled to use the influences of their station, of kindly offices and neighbourhood, of the various occasions which the daily intercourse and habits of social life present; aye, and I do not hesitate to add of persuasion itself, applied with a zeal tempered by knowledge and discretion, in the propagation of that which is true, and which, being true, is good as well for those who as yet have it not, as well for those who have it. It is the proposition of the noble Lord which is really open to the charge of bigotry, intolerance, and arbitrary selection; because, disavowing the maintenance and extension of truth, he continues by way of personal privilege to the Protestants the legal recognition of their Church, which he refuses to the Church of the Roman Catholic."

The negative part of this passage I adopt, except the censure it implies upon Earl Russell and his friends; who, whether their actual propositions were defensible

or not, had the "root of the matter" in their hearts, and were far ahead of me in their political forethought, and in their desire to hold up at least the banner of a generous and a hopeful policy towards Ireland.

In this manner I prove that, while I was bound by the propositions of my work, I was not singly but doubly bound. I was bound to defend the Irish Church, as long as it could be defended on the ground of its truth. But when the day arrived on which that ground was definitively abandoned, on which a policy was to be adopted by the Imperial Parliament such as to destroy this plea for the Irish Establishment, I was equally bound in such case to adopt no other : I had shown that justice would fail to warrant the mere support of the Church of the minority ; I was held, therefore, not to construct out of rags and tatters, shreds and patches, a new and different case for maintaining it on the ground of favour, or, as it is termed, justice, to Protestants ; and, if I had done anything of this kind, I should not have escaped the responsibility of inconsistency, but should simply have added a second and (as I think) a less excusable inconsistency to the first.

The day for the adoption of such a policy as I have described was not far distant.

Scarcely had my work issued from the press when I became aware that there was no party, no section of a party, no individual person probably in the House of Commons, who was prepared to act upon it. I found myself the last man on the sinking ship. Exclusive support to the established religion of the country, with a limited and local exception for Scotland under the Treaty of Union with that country,

had been up to that time the actual rule of our policy; the instances to the contrary being of equivocal construction, and of infinitesimal amount. But the attempt to give this rule a vitality other than that of sufferance was an anachronism in time and in place. When I bid it live, it was just about to die. It was really a quickened and not a deadened conscience in the country, which insisted on enlarging the circle of State support, even while it tended to restrain the range of political interference in religion. The condition of our poor, of our criminals, of our military and naval services, and the backward state of popular education, forced on us a group of questions, before the moral pressure of which the old rules properly gave way. At and about the same period, new attempts to obtain grants of public money for the building of churches in England and Scotland, I am thankful to say, failed. The powerful Government of 1843 also failed to carry a measure of Factory Education, because of the preference it was thought to give to the Established Church. I believe the very first opinion I ever was called upon to give in Cabinet was an opinion in favour of the withdrawal of that measure.

In this state of facts and feelings, notwithstanding the strength of anti-Roman opinion, it was impossible that Ireland should not assert her share, and that a large one, to consideration in these critical matters. The forces, which were now at work, brought speedily to the front and to the top that question of Maynooth College, which I had always (rightly or wrongly) treated as a testing question for the foundations of the Irish Established Church; as, in point of principle, the *Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*.

In the course of the year 1844, when I was a member of the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, he made known to me his opinion that it was desirable to remodel and to increase the Grant to Maynooth. I was the youngest member of that Government, entirely bound up with it in policy, and warmly attached, by respect and even affection, to its head and to some of its leading members. Of association with what was termed ultra-Toryism in general politics I had never dreamed. I well knew that the words of Sir R. Peel were not merely tentative, but that, as it was right they should, they indicated a fixed intention. The choice before me, therefore, was, to support his measure, or to retire from his Government into a position of complete isolation, and what was more than this, subject to a grave and general imputation of political eccentricity. My retirement, I knew, could have no other warrant than this : that it would be a tribute to those laws which, as I have urged, must be upheld for the restraint of changes of opinion and conduct in public men. For I never entertained the idea of opposing the measure of Sir Robert Peel. I can scarcely be guilty of a breach of confidence when I mention that Lord Derby, to whom I had already been indebted for much personal kindness, was one of those colleagues who sought to dissuade me from resigning my office. He urged upon me that such an act must be followed by resistance to the measure of the Government, and that I should run the risk of being mixed with a fierce religious agitation. I replied that I must adhere to my purpose of retirement, but that I did not perceive the necessity of its being followed by resistance to the proposal. Over-

tures were, not unnaturally, made to me by some of those who resisted it; but they were at once declined. My whole purpose was to place myself in a position in which I should be free to consider my course without being liable to any just suspicion on the ground of personal interest. It is not profane if I say "with a great price obtained I this freedom." The political association in which I stood was to me at the time the alpha and omega of public life. The Government of Sir Robert Peel was believed to be of immovable strength. My place, as President of the Board of Trade, was at the very kernel of its most interesting operations; for it was in progress from year to year, with continually waxing courage, towards the emancipation of industry, and therein towards the accomplishment of another great and blessed work of public justice. Giving up what I highly prized, aware that

"malè sarta
Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur,"*

I felt myself open to the charge of being opinionated, and wanting in deference to really great authorities; and I could not but know I should be regarded as fastidious and fanciful, fitter for a dreamer, or possibly a schoolman, than for the active purposes of public life in a busy and moving age. In effect so it was. In the month of January, 1845, if not sooner, the resolution of the Cabinet was taken; and I resigned. The public judgment, as might have been expected, did not favour the act. I remember that the 'Daily News,' then as now a journal greatly distinguished for an almost uniform impartiality, as well as for breadth

* Hor. Ep. ii. 3. 31.

of view and high discernment, remarked at the time or afterwards upon the case, as a rare one, in which a public man had injured himself with the public by an act which must in fairness be taken to be an act of self-denial. I hope that reference to this criticism will not be considered boastful. It can hardly be so; for an infirm judgment, exhibited in a practical indiscretion, is after all the theme of these pages. I do not claim acquittal upon any one of the counts of indictment which I have admitted may be brought against the conduct I pursued. One point only I plead, and plead with confidence. It proved that I was sensible of the gravity of any great change in political conduct or opinion, and desirous beyond all things of giving to the country such guarantees as I could give of my integrity, even at the expense of my judgment and fitness for affairs. If any man doubts this, I ask him to ask himself, what demand political honour could have made with which I failed to comply?

In the ensuing debate on the Address (February 4, 1845), Lord John Russell, in terms of courtesy and kindness which I had little deserved from him, called for an explanation of the cause of my retirement. In a statement which I corrected for 'Hansard's Debates,' I replied that it had reference to the intentions of the Government with respect to Maynooth; that those intentions pointed to a measure "at variance with the system which I had maintained," "in a form the most detailed and deliberate," "in a published treatise:" that although I had never set forth any theory of political affairs as "under all circumstances inflexible and immutable," yet I thought those who had borne such solemn testimony to a particular view of a great

constitutional question, "ought not to be parties responsible for proposals which involved a material departure from it." And the purpose of my retirement was to "place myself, so far as in me lay, in a position to form not only an honest, but likewise an independent and an unsuspected judgment," on the plan likely to be submitted by the Government. I also spoke as follows, in more forms than one:

"I wish again and most distinctly to state, that I am not prepared to take part in any religious warfare against that measure, such as I believe it may be; or to draw a distinction between the Roman Catholics and other denominations of Christians, with reference to the religious opinions which each of them respectively may hold."

Now I respectfully submit that by this act my freedom was established; and that it has never since, during a period of nearly five-and-twenty years, been compromised.

Some may say that it is perfectly consistent to have endowed Maynooth anew, and yet to uphold on principle, as a part of the Constitution, the Established Church of Ireland. It may be consistent, for them; it was not consistent, as I have distinctly shown, for me. The moment that I admitted the validity of a claim by the Church of Rome for the gift, by the free act of the Imperial Parliament, of new funds for the education of its clergy, the true basis of the Established Church of Ireland for me was cut away. The one had always been treated by me as exclusive of the other. It is not now the question whether this way of looking at the question was a correct one. There are great authorities against it; while it seems at the same time to have some considerable hold on what may

be termed the moral sense of portions, perhaps large portions, of the people. The present question is one of fact. It is enough for the present purpose, that such was my view. From that day forward, I have never to my knowledge said one word, in public or in private, which could pledge me on principle to the maintenance of the Irish Church. Nay, in a speech, delivered on the second reading of the Maynooth College Bill, I took occasion distinctly to convey, that the application of religious considerations to ecclesiastical questions in Ireland would be entirely altered by the passing of the measure:—

"The boon to which I for one have thus agreed, is a very great boon. I think it important, most of all important with regard to the principles it involves. I am very far, indeed, from saying that it virtually decides upon the payment of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland by the State: but I do not deny that it disposes of the religious objections to that measure. I mean that we, who assent to this Bill, shall in my judgment no longer be in a condition to plead religious objections to such a project."*

True, I did not say that I was thenceforward prepared at any moment to vote for the removal of the Established Church in Ireland. And this for the best of all reasons: it would not have been true. It is one thing to lift the anchor; it is another to spread the sails. It may be a duty to be in readiness for departure, when departure itself would be an offence against public prudence and public principle. But I do not go so far even as this. On the contrary, I was willing and desirous † that it should be permitted to continue. If its ground in logic was gone, yet it might have, in fact, like much besides, its day of

* 'Speech on the Second Reading of the Maynooth College Bill,' 1845, p. 44.

† *Ibid.*, p. 33.

grace. I do not now say that I leapt at once to the conclusion that the Established Church of Ireland must at any definite period "cease to exist as an Establishment." She had my sincere good will; I was not sorry, I was glad, that while Ireland seemed content to have it so, a longer time should be granted her to unfold her religious energies through the medium of an active and pious clergy, which until this our day she had never possessed. My mind recoiled then, as it recoils now, from the idea of worrying the Irish Church to death. I desired that it should remain even as it was, until the way should be opened, and the means at hand, for bringing about some better state of things.

Moreover, it was a duty, from my point of view, completely to exhaust every chance on behalf of the Irish Church. I have not been disposed, at any time of life, gratuitously to undertake agitation of the most difficult, and at times apparently the most hopeless questions. At the period of the Appropriation Clause, I represented to myself, and I believe to others, that the true power of the Church as a religious engine had never up to that period been fairly tried. In name a religious institution, her influences, her benefices, her sees, were commonly employed for purposes, which we must condemn as secular, even if they had not been utterly *anti-national*. Only within a few, a very few years, had her clergy even begun to bestir themselves; and they had forthwith found that, from the unsettled state of the law of tithe, they were in the midst of an agitation, both menacing to public order, and even perilous to life. I was desirous to see what, after person and property should have been rendered secure, and a

peaceful atmosphere restored, a generation of pious and zealous men could accomplish in their actual position. I am still of the opinion that thirty-five years ago the religion of the Irish Church had not—to her and to our shame be it spoken—had fair play. From the days of Elizabeth downwards, with the rarest exceptions, the worldly element had entirely outweighed the religious one (whatever the intention may have been) in the actual working of the ecclesiastical institutions of Ireland. Mr. Burke has immortalised the burning shame and the hideous scandals of those penal laws which, perhaps for the first time in the history of Christendom if not of man, aimed at persecuting men out of one religion, but not at persecuting them into another. I will not be so rash as to enter on the field—

"Per quem magnus equos Auruncæ flexit alumnus."

But the time of awakening had come. The Irish Church had grown conscious that she had a Gospel to declare. Even with my present opinions I might feel a scruple as to the measures now proposed, but for the resistless and accumulated proof of impotence afforded by the experience of my life-time, and due, I believe, to a radically false position. For the Irish Church has, since the tithe war of 1830-2 came to an end, had not only fair play—that is such fair play as in Ireland the Establishment allows to the Church—but fair play and something more. She has enjoyed an opportunity, extending over a generation of men, with circumstances of favour such as can hardly be expected to recur. What has been her case? She has had ample endowments; perfect security; an

almost unbroken freedom from the internal controversies which have chastened (though, in chastening, I believe improved) the Church of England. The knowledge of the Irish language has been extensively attained by her clergy.* She has had all the moral support that could be given her by the people of this country; for it was the people, and not a mere party, who, in 1835-8, repudiated and repelled the Appropriation Clause. Her rival, the Church of Rome, has seen its people borne down to the ground by famine; and then thinned from year to year, in hundreds of thousands, by the resistless force of emigration. And, last and most of all, in the midst of that awful visitation of 1847-8, her Protestant Clergy came to the Roman Catholic people clad in the garb of angels of light; for, besides their own bounty (most liberal, I believe, in proportion to their means), they became the grand almoners of the British nation. When, after all this, we arrive at a new census of religion in 1861, we find that only the faintest impression has been made upon the relative numbers of the two bodies; an impression much slighter, I apprehend, than would have been due to the comparative immunity of the Established Church from the drain of emigration; and, if so, representing in reality, not a gain, but a virtual loss of some part of the narrow ground which before was occupied by the favoured religion of the State.

Like others, I have watched with interest the results of those missionary operations in the West of Ireland which have, perhaps, been construed as of a greater ulterior significance than really belongs to

* See 'Life of Archbishop Whately.'

them. They were, I understand, due not so much to the Established Church, as to religious bodies in this country, which expend large funds in Ireland for the purpose of making converts: an operation in which the Presbyterians and Protestant Dissenters lend their aid. Let them not be undervalued. But I, for one, recollect that this is not the first time when local and occasional inroads have been successfully effected by Protestants upon the serried phalanx of the Roman Church in Ireland, and have been mistaken for signs of permanent or a general conquest. More than forty years ago, Bishop Blomfield — no mean authority—prophesied or announced, in the House of Lords, that a second Reformation had then begun. And there had indeed taken place in Ireland at that time one, if not more than one, instance of conversions on a large scale to the Established Church, such as was well calculated to excite sanguine anticipations, though they were dispelled by subsequent experience. I think we ought now to perceive that the annexation of the warrant of civil authority to the religious embassy of the Irish Church, discredits in lieu of recommending it in the view of the Irish people. I do not mean that we are to put down the Establishment for the sake of a more effective propagandism. We must not for a moment forget that civil justice, an adaptation of the state of things in Ireland to the essential principles of political right, is that one broad and more than sufficient justification of the measure, in which all its advocates agree. But, over and above this, they may also agree in reflecting with satisfaction that the time is about to come when in Ireland, in lieu of a system which insults the re-

ligion of the majority and makes that of the minority powerless, creeds will compete upon the level, and will thrive according to their merits. Nor will they be offended with one another when, in the anticipation of such a state of things, each man who has faith in freedom, faith in justice, faith in truth, anticipates a harvest of benefit for his own.

The emancipation thus effected from the net in which I had been bound was soon after tested. In 1846, it was suggested to me that I should oppose a member of the newly-formed Government of Lord John Russell. In my reply, declining the proposal, I wrote thus: "As to the Irish Church, I am not able to go to war with them on the ground that they will not pledge themselves to the maintenance of the existing appropriation of Church property in Ireland." This, however, was a private proceeding. But, early in 1847, Mr. Estcourt announced his resignation of the seat he had held, amidst universal respect, for the University of Oxford. The partiality of friends proposed me as a candidate. The representation of that University was, I think, stated by Mr. Canning to be to him the most coveted prize of political life. I am not ashamed to own that I desired it with an almost passionate fondness. For besides all the associations it maintained and revived, it was in those days an honour not only given without solicitation, but, when once given, not withdrawn.* The contest was conducted with much activity, and some heat. I was, naturally enough, challenged as to my opinions on the Established Church of Ireland. My

* The case of Sir R. Peel, in 1829, I do not consider an exception to this remark, as he gave back the charge into the hands of the electors.

friend Mr. Coleridge, then young, but already distinguished, was one of my most active and able supporters. He has borne spontaneous testimony, within the last few weeks, to the manner in which the challenge was met :—

"Gentlemen, I must be permitted—because an attack has been made upon Mr. Gladstone, and it has been suggested that his conversion to his present principles is recent—to mention what is within my own knowledge and experience with regard to him. In 1847, when I was just leaving Oxford, I had the great honour of being secretary to his first election committee for that university, and I well recollect how, upon that occasion, some older and more moderate supporters were extremely anxious to draw from him some pledge that he should stand by the Irish Church. He distinctly refused to pledge himself to anything of the kind."*

The next Parliamentary occasion, after the Maynooth Grant, which brought prominently into view the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland, was that of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851. I felt bound, as one of a very small minority, but in cordial agreement with the chief surviving associates of Sir Robert Peel, to offer all the opposition in my power, not only to the clauses by which the party then called Protectionist, and now Tory, Conservative, or Constitutionalist, endeavoured to sharpen the sting of the measure, but to the substance of the measure itself. I may be permitted to observe, that for the representative of the University of Oxford thus to set himself against the great bulk of the Liberal as well as the Conservative party, whatever else it may have been, was not a servile or a self-seeking course. But this

* Mr. Coleridge's speech at Exeter, August, 1868. From the 'Manchester Examiner' of August 22.

is irrelevant. It is more to the present purpose to observe that, in resisting this measure, I did not attempt to mitigate the offence by any profession of adhesion in principle to the maintenance of the Established Church of Ireland; but I spoke as follows :—

"We cannot change the profound and resistless tendencies of the age towards religious liberty. It is our business to guide and control their application. Do this you may. But to endeavour to turn them backwards is the sport of children, done by the hands of men; and every effort you may make in that direction will recoil upon you in disaster and disgrace." *

The years flowed on. From 1846 forwards, the controversy of Free Trade was, as a rule, the commanding and absorbing controversy, the pole of political affairs. But from time to time motions were made in relation to the Established Church of Ireland. That question remained as one asleep, but whose sleep is haunted with uneasy dreams. These motions were, as far as I remember them, uniformly of a narrow and partial character. They aimed at what is called getting in the thin end of the wedge. All honour, however, to each one of those who made them. The mover of any such proposal was *vox clamantis in deserto*. The people of England had, in 1835-8, settled the matter for the time. The reproaches now made against the older leaders and the body of the Liberal party for not having seriously entered the struggle, appear to me to be not only unjust but even preposterous. The Legislature had other great subjects to deal with, besides the Irish Church. Four years of deadly conflict on such a

* 'Corrected Speech on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill,' 1851, p. 28.

matter might well be followed by five times four of repose. But in the mean time individuals, by their partial and occasional efforts, bore witness to a principle broader than any which they formally announced. That principle—the application of a true religious equality to Ireland—was biding its time.

No one, in my opinion, was bound to assert, by speech or vote, any decisive opinion upon so great and formidable a question until he should think, upon a careful survey of the ground and the time, of the assisting and opposing forces, that the season for action had come. The motions actually made were commonly motions for inquiry, or motions aimed generally at a change. I did not enter into the debates. When I voted, I voted against them; and against such motions, if they were made, I should vote again.

I now arrive at the Government of 1859-65. He who has slept long is likely soon to wake. After the Free Trade struggles of 1860 and 1861 were over, so it was, I thought, with the question of the Irish Church. There was a lull in political affairs. They hung, in a great degree, upon a single life—the remarkable life of Lord Palmerston. It was surely right to think a little of the future. The calm was certain to be succeeded by a breeze, if not a gale. It was too plain to me that the inner disposition of Ireland, relatively to this country, was not improving; and that, in the course of years, more or fewer, the question of the Irish Church was certain to revive, and, if it should revive, probably to be carried to a final issue. My first thought, under these circumstances,

was about my constituents. Anxiously occupied in other matters, I did not give my nights and days to the question of the Irish Church. Yet the question continually flitted, as it were, before me; and I felt that, before that question arose in a practical shape, my relation to the University should be considered, and its Convocation distinctly apprised that at the proper time it would be my duty to support very extensive changes in the Irish Church. My valued friend, Sir R. Palmer, has done me the favour, of his own motion, to state in public that I then apprised him of my state of mind:—

"There had been people who had said, 'You would never have heard anything about the Irish Church question from Mr. Gladstone if the Tories had not been in power, and he had not wanted to get their place.' (Hear, hear.) To his certain knowledge that was not true. He could mention what had taken place between Mr. Gladstone and himself, and he did so the rather because it did justice to him, and would show them that his own mind had been particularly addressed to that subject, to which he had paid some degree of attention some years before the present time. In the year 1863, at a time when no one was bringing forward this question, or seemed very likely to do so, Mr. Gladstone had told him privately that he had made up his mind on the subject, and that he should not be able to keep himself from giving public expression to his feelings. How far or near that might be practicable, he could not foresee; but, under the circumstances, he wanted his friends connected with the University of Oxford to consider whether or not they would desire for that reason a change in the representation of the University." *

* Sir R. Palmer's speech at Richmond, August, 1868. From the 'Manchester Examiner' of August 24.

Partly because I felt that this question might come to the front, and partly because I saw a manifest determination in a portion of the Academical constituency to press my friends with incessant contests, of which I was unwilling to be the hero, I was not indisposed to retire without compulsion from the seat, if it could have been done without obvious detriment to the principles on which I had been returned. This was judged to be uncertain. Consequently, I remained. But in 1865, on the motion of Mr. Dillwyn, I made a speech, in which I declared that present action was impossible, that at any period immense difficulties would have to be encountered, but that this was "the question of the future." I stated strongly, though summarily, some of the arguments against the Church as it stood. I entirely abstained from advising or glancing at the subject of mere reform, and I did not use one word from which it could be inferred that I desired it to continue in its place as the National or Established Church of the country.

My speech was immediately denounced by Mr. (now Chief Justice) Whiteside, as one intended to be fatal to the Established Church of Ireland when an opportunity should arise;* and I am told that my opponents in the University circulated my speech among their portion of the constituency (as I think they were quite justified in doing) to my prejudice. My friends, however, stood by me, and resolved to

* 'Hansard,' vol. clxxviii. p. 444.—"But I do complain of a Minister who, himself the author of a book in defence of Church and State, when one branch of the Christian Church is attacked and in danger, delivers a speech, every word of which is hostile to its existence when the right time comes for attacking it."

contend for the seat. An application was made to me by a distinguished scholar, divine, and teacher, the Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, to give certain explanations for the appeasing of doubts. I did so in the following letter :—

"11, Carlton House Terrace, S.W., June 8, 1865.

"DEAR DR. HANNAH,

"It would be very difficult for me to subscribe to *any* interpretation of my speech on the Irish Church like that of your correspondent, which contains so many conditions and bases of a plan for dealing with a question apparently remote, and at the same time full of difficulties on every side. My reasons are, I think, plain. First, because the question is remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day, I think it would be for me worse than superfluous to determine upon any scheme or basis of a scheme with respect to it. Secondly, because it is difficult, even if I anticipated any likelihood of being called upon to deal with it, I should think it right to make no decision beforehand on the mode of dealing with the difficulties. But the first reason is that which chiefly weighs. As far as I know, my speech signifies pretty clearly the broad distinction which I take between the abstract and the practical views of the subject. And I think I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of satisfactorily closing it. For this reason it is that I have been so silent about the matter, and may probably be so again; but I could not as a Minister, and as member for Oxford, allow it to be debated an indefinite number of times and remain silent. One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (though I scarcely *expect* ever to be called on to share in such a measure) the Act of Union must be recognised and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy.

"I am much obliged to you for writing, and I hope you

will see and approve my reasons for not wishing to carry my *own mind* further into a question lying at a distance I cannot measure.

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Rev. the WARDEN, Trin. Coll., Perth."

The letter has been the object of much criticism upon these three grounds. First, it contained a statement that the Act of Union ought to entail important consequences in the formation of any measure relating to the Irish Church. Secondly, that the question was hardly within the domain of practical politics. Thirdly, that I felt very uncertain whether it would be dealt with in my time. The explanation of the first is as follows :—In contemplating the subject of the Irish Church, I did not see how to give full effect to the principle of religious equality without touching the composition of the House of Lords. In this strait, my personal opinion was that it would be best to retain (though in an altered form) the Episcopal element from Ireland in the House of Lords, lest its withdrawal should lead to other changes, of a kind to weaken the constitution of that important branch of the legislature ; and thus far I was disposed to abridge the application of religious equality to Ireland. I had not yet examined the question so closely as to perceive that this mode of proceeding was wholly impracticable, and that the inconvenience of removing the Irish Bishops must be faced. And for my part I have not been so happy, at any time of my life, as to be able sufficiently to adjust the proper conditions of handling any difficult

question, until the question itself was at the door. This retention of the Bishops in the House of Peers was the important consequence that I thought the Act of Union would draw.

Among those errors of the day which may be called singular as vulgar errors, is that which supposes the fifth Article of the Act of Union with Ireland to refer to the endowments of the Church. Its terms touch exclusively her "doctrine, worship, discipline, and government." There is no violation of this section of the Act of Union in withdrawing her endowments, were she stripped of every shilling. But it may be said that her "government," as distinguished from her discipline, perhaps involves the position of her exclusive relation to the State. So I thought; and accordingly thus I wrote to Dr. Hannah.

The second proposition of the letter was not only in harmony with my speech, it was simply the condensation of the speech into a brief form of words. For, agreeing with Mr. Dillwyn as to the merits of the case, I held, as I have ever held, that it is not the duty of a Minister to be forward in inscribing on the Journals of Parliament his own abstract views; or to disturb the existence of a great institution like the Church of Ireland, until he conceives the time to be come when he can probably give effect to his opinions. Because the question was not within the range of practical politics, agreeing with his sentiment, I voted against his motion.

But, forsooth, it is a matter of wonder that I should have felt doubtful whether the Irish Church would be dealt with in my time. Now, I do not complain of this. It is an example of what is continually hap-

pening in human affairs, of the mythical handling of facts, of the reflection of the ideas, feelings, and circumstances of one period upon the events of another, and thus dressing the past in the garb of the present. I abide by this, and by every word of the letter. The question of the Irish Church was in my view, in the year 1865, what, be it remembered, the question of Parliamentary Reform seemed to be in the first moiety of the year 1830—namely, a remote question. Had any man said to me, "How soon will it come on?" I should have replied, "Heaven knows; perhaps it will be five years, perhaps it will be ten." My duty was to let my constituents know the state of my mind on a matter so important, because the wind was gradually veering to that quarter, even though I might not believe, and did not believe it to be the most probable event, that it would reach the point for action during the life of the Parliament just then about to be elected. But then I referred to my own political lifetime. On that subject I will only say that a man who, in 1865, completed his thirty-third year of a laborious career; who had already followed to the grave the remains of almost all the friends abreast of whom he had started from the University in the career of public life; and who had observed that, excepting two recent cases, it was hard to find in our whole history a single man who had been permitted to reach the fortieth year of a course of labour similar to his own within the walls of the House of Commons; such a man might surely be excused if he did not venture to reckon for himself on an exemption from the lot of greater and better men, and if he formed a less sanguine estimate of the

fraction of space yet remaining to him, than seems to have been the case with his critics.

The reasons that, in my judgment, prove the time now to have arrived for dealing decisively with the question of the Irish Church Establishment, must be treated elsewhere than in these pages.

So far as Ireland, and the immediate controversy, and my personal vindication are concerned, I have done. But there is matter of wider interest, which connects itself with the subject. The change of conduct, the shifting of the mind of an individual, shrink into insignificance by the side of the question, What has been, since 1838, the direction of the public sentiment, the course of law and administration, the general march of affairs?

I have described the erroneous impressions as to the actual and prospective state of things, under which was urged the practical application of that system of thought embodied in my work of 1838. It may be said my error was a gross or even an absurd one. On that question I need not enter. But I will endeavour to bring into view some circumstances relating to the time, which may help to account for it. And here I feel that I pass beyond the narrower and more personal scope of these pages, if I attempt to recall some of the changes that have taken place during the last thirty or five-and-thirty years, in matters which bear upon the religious character and relations of the State.

At that time, Jews, and others not adopting the Christian name, were excluded from civil office; and though Roman Catholics and Nonconformists had effected an entrance into Parliament, there still re-

mained an oath for the former, and a declaration for the latter, which, if they did not practically limit freedom, yet denoted, like the mark of chains on the limbs of an emancipated slave, that there had been a time when it did not exist. The Establishment of Scotland was still entire, and animated with the strength principally of the eminent men who afterwards led the Free Church Secession. The attack on the Irish Church, pushed in 1835 with earnestness and vigour by the Liberal party, had speedily proved to be hopeless. The State continued to make to other persuasions certain grants, little more than compassionate, and handed down from other times; but, even in the case of the classes especially in its charge, such as soldiers and sailors, or such again as paupers and criminals, it rarely permitted, and still more rarely provided for them, the means of religious worship according to their own religious convictions. In the great province of popular education in England, nothing was granted except to schools of the Church, or to schools in which, while the Bible was read, no religion other than that of the Church was taught; and he would have been deemed something more than a daring prophet, who should have foretold that in a few years the utmost ambition of the lay champions, and of the spiritual heads of the Church, would be to obtain the maintenance of a denominational system in popular education, under which all religions alike should receive the indirect, yet not unsubstantial, countenance of the State.

But the most important of all the changes which have taken place within the interval, has been the

change in the condition of the Church of England itself.

Even for those old enough to have an adequate recollection of the facts, it requires no inconsiderable mental effort to travel backwards over the distractions, controversies, perils, and calamities of the last thirty years, to the period immediately before those years; and to realise not only the state of facts, but especially the promises and prospects which it presented. I am well aware that any description of it which may now be attempted will appear to bear more or less the colour of romance; but, without taking it into view, no one can either measure the ground over which we have travelled, or perceive how strong was then the temptation to form an oversanguine estimate of the probable progress of the Church in her warfare with sin and ignorance, and even in persuading seceders of all kinds to re-enter her fold.

That time was a time such as comes, after sickness, to a man in the flower of life, with an unimpaired and buoyant constitution; the time in which, though health is as yet incomplete, the sense and the joy of health are keener, as the fresh and living current first flows in, than are conveyed by its even and undisturbed possession.

The Church of England had been passing through a long period of deep and chronic religious lethargy. For many years, perhaps for some generations, Christendom might have been challenged to show, either then or from any former age, a clergy (with exceptions) so secular and lax, or congregations so cold, irreverent, and indevout. The process of

awakening had, indeed, begun many years before; but a very long time is required to stir up effectually a torpid body, whose dimensions overspread a great country. Active piety and zeal among the clergy, and yet more among the laity, had been in a great degree confined within the narrow limits of a party, which, however meritorious in its work, presented in the main phenomena of transition, and laid but little hold on the higher intellect and cultivation of the country. Our churches and our worship bore in general too conclusive testimony to a frozen indifference. No effort had been made either to overtake the religious destitution of the multitudes at home, or to follow the numerous children of the Church, migrating into distant lands, with any due provision for their spiritual wants. The richer benefices were very commonly regarded as a suitable provision for such members of the higher families as were least fit to push their way in any profession requiring thought or labour. The abuses of plurality and non-residence were at a height, which, if not proved by statistical returns, it would now be scarcely possible to believe. In the greatest public school of the country (and I presume it may be taken as a sample of the rest) the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead, though happily none of its forms had been surrendered. It is a retrospect full of gloom; and with all our Romanising, and all our Rationalising, what man of sense would wish to go back upon those dreary times:

"Domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna"?*

* Æn. vi.

But between 1831 and 1840, the transformation, which had previously begun, made a progress altogether marvellous. Much was due, without doubt, to the earnest labour of individuals. Such men as Bishop Blomfield on the Bench, and Dr. Hook in the parish (and I name them only as illustrious examples), who had long been toiling with a patient but a dauntless energy, began as it were to get the upper hand. But causes of deep and general operation were also widely at work. As the French Revolution had done much to renovate Christian belief on the Continent, so the Church of England was less violently, but pretty sharply, roused by the political events which arrived in a rattling succession. In 1828, the repeal of the Test Act. In 1829, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. In 1831-2, the agony and triumph of Reform. In 1833, the Church Temporalities Act for Ireland. There was now a general uprising of religious energy in the Church throughout the land. It saved the Church. Her condition before 1830 could not possibly have borne the scrutinising eye, which for thirty years past has been turned upon our institutions. Her rank corruptions must have called down the avenging arm. But it was arrested just in time.

It would be difficult to give a just and full idea of the beneficial changes which were either accomplished or begun during this notable decade of years. They embraced alike formal, official movements, of a nature to strike the general eye, and those local improvements in detail, which singly are known only in each neighbourhood, but which unitedly transform the face of a country. Laws were passed to repress

gross abuses, and the altering spirit of the clergy seconded and even outstripped the laws. The outward face of divine worship began to be renovated, and the shameful condition of the sacred fabrics was rapidly amended, with such a tide of public approval as overflowed all the barriers of party and of sect, and speedily found its manifestations even in the seceding communions. There is no reason to doubt that at that time at least, and before such changes had become too decidedly the fashion, the outward embellishment of churches, and the greater decency and order of services, answered to, and sprang from, a call within, and proved a less unworthy conception of the sublime idea of Christian worship. The missionary arm of the Church began to exhibit a vigour wholly unknown to former years. Noble efforts were made, under the auspices of the chief bishops of the Church, to provide for the unsatisfied spiritual wants of the metropolis. The great scheme of the Colonial Episcopate was founded; and, in its outset, led to such a development of apostolic zeal and self-denial as could not but assist, by a powerful reaction, the domestic progress. The tone of public schools (on one of which Arnold was now spending his noble energies) and of universities, was steadily yet rapidly raised. The greatest change of all was within the body of the clergy.* A devoted piety and an unworldly life, which had been the rare exceptions, became visibly from year to year more and more the rule. The

* It was, I think, about the year 1835, that I first met the Rev. Sydney Smith, at the house of Mr. Hallam. In conversation after dinner he said to me, with the double charm of humour and of good-humour, "The improvement of the clergy in my time has been astonishing. Whenever you meet a clergyman of my age, you may be quite sure that he is a bad clergyman."

spectacle, as a whole, was like what we are told of a Russian spring: when, after long months of rigid cold, almost in a day the snow dissolves, the ice breaks up and is borne away, and the whole earth is covered with a rush of verdure. These were bright and happy days for the Church of England. She seemed, or seemed to seem, as a Church recalling the descriptions of Holy Writ; to be "beautiful as the sun which goeth forth in his might," * "and terrible as an army with banners." †

Of this great renovating movement, a large part centred in Oxford. At the time, indeed, when I resided there, from 1828 to 1831, no sign of it had yet appeared. A steady, clear, but dry Anglican orthodoxy bore sway, and frowned, this way or that, on the first indication of any tendency to diverge from the beaten path. Dr. Pusey was, at that time, revered, indeed, for his piety and charity, no less than admired for his learning and talents, but suspected (I believe) of sympathy with the German theology, in which he was known to be profoundly versed. Dr. Newman was thought to have about him the flavour of what, he has now told the world, were the opinions he had derived in youth from the works of Thomas Scott. Mr. Keble, the "sweet singer of Israel," and a true saint, if this generation has seen one, did not reside in Oxford.‡ The chief Chair of Theology had been occupied by Bishop Lloyd, the old tutor and the attached and intimate friend of

* Judges, v. 31. † Canticles, vi. 4.

‡ Since these lines were written I have learned, upon authority which cannot be questioned, that Mr. Keble acknowledged the justice of disestablishing the Irish Church.

Peel: a man of powerful talents, and of a character both winning and decided, who, had his life been spared, might have acted powerfully for good on the fortunes of the Church of England, by guiding the energetic influences which his teaching had done much to form. But he had been hurried away in 1829 by an early death: and Dr. Whately, who was also, in his own way, a known power in the University, was in 1830 induced to accept the Archbishopric of Dublin. There was nothing at that time in the theology, or in the religious life, of the University to indicate what was to come. But when, shortly afterwards, the great heart of England began to beat with the quickened pulsations of a more energetic religious life, it was in Oxford that the stroke was most distinct and loud. An extraordinary change appeared to pass upon the spirit of the place. I believe it would be a moderate estimate to say that much beyond one half of the very flower of its youth chose the profession of Holy Orders, while an impression scarcely less deep seemed to be stamped upon a large portion of its lay pupils. I doubt whether at any period of its existence, either since the Reformation, or perhaps before it, the Church of England had reaped from either University, in so short a time, so rich a harvest. At Cambridge a similar lifting up of heart and mind seems to have been going on; and numbers of persons of my own generation, who at their public schools had been careless and thoughtless like the rest, appeared in their early manhood as soldiers of Christ, and ministers to the wants of His people, worthy, I believe, as far as man can be worthy, through their zeal, devotion, powers of mind, and attainments, of their

high vocation. It was not then foreseen what storms were about to rise. Not only in Oxford, but in England, during the years to which I refer, party spirit within the Church was reduced to a low ebb. Indiscretions there might be, but authority did not take alarm: it smiled rather, on the contrary, on what was thought to be in the main a recurrence both to first principles and to forgotten obligations. Purity, unity, and energy seemed, as three fair sisters hand in hand, to advance together. Such a state of things was eminently suited to act on impressible and sanguine minds. I, for one, formed a completely false estimate of what was about to happen; and believed that the Church of England, through the medium of a regenerated clergy and an intelligent and attached laity, would not only hold her ground, but would even in great part probably revive the love and the allegiance both of the masses who were wholly falling away from religious observances, and of those large and powerful nonconforming bodies, the existence of which was supposed to have no other cause than the neglect of its duties by the National Church, which had long left the people as sheep without a shepherd.

And surely it would have required either a deeply saturnine or a marvellously prophetic mind to foretell that, in ten or twelve more years, that powerful and distinguished generation of clergy would be broken up: that at least a moiety of the most gifted sons, whom Oxford had reared for the service of the Church of England, would be hurling at her head the hottest bolts of the Vatican: that, with their deviation on the one side, there would arise a not less convulsive rationalistic movement on the other; and

that the natural consequences would be developed in endless contention and estrangement, and in suspicions worse than either, because even less accessible, and even more intractable. Since that time, the Church of England may be said to have bled at every pore; and at this hour it seems occasionally to quiver to its very base. And yet, all the while, the religious life throbs more and more powerfully within her. Shorn of what may be called the romance and poetry of her revival, she abates nothing of her toil; and in the midst of every sort of partial indiscretion and extravagance, her great office in the care of souls is, from year to year, less and less imperfectly discharged. But the idea of asserting on her part those exclusive claims, which become positively unjust in a divided country governed on popular principles, has been abandoned by all parties in the State.

There was an error not less serious in my estimate of English Nonconformity. I remember the astonishment with which at some period,—I think in 1851-2, —after ascertaining the vast addition which had been made to the number of churches in the country, I discovered that the multiplication of chapels, among those not belonging to the Church of England, had been more rapid still. But besides the immense extension of its material and pastoral organisation, English Nonconformity (in general) appears now to have founded itself on a principle of its own, which forbids the alliance of the civil power with religion in any particular form or forms. I do not embrace that principle. But I must observe, in passing, that it is not less unjust than it is common to stigmatise those who hold it as "political Dissenters,"—a phrase

implying that they do not dissent on religious grounds. But if they, because they object to the union of Church and State, are political Dissenters, it follows that all who uphold it are political Churchmen.

The entire miscalculation which I have now endeavoured to describe of the religious state and prospects of the country, was combined with a view of the relative position of governors and governed, since greatly modified; and the two lay at the root of my error. These two causes led me into the excess of recommending the continued maintenance of a theory which was impracticable, and which, if it could have been enforced, would have been, under the circumstances of the country, less than just. For I never held that a National Church should be permanently maintained except for the nation,—I mean either for the whole of it or, at least, for the greater part, with some kind of real concurrence or general acquiescence from the remainder.

Against the proposals of my book, Lord Macaulay had set up a theory of his own.*

"That we may give Mr. Gladstone his revenge, we will state concisely our own views respecting the alliance of Church and State. . . . .

"We consider the primary end of Government as a purely temporal end, the protection of the persons and property of men.

"We think that Government, like every other contrivance of human wisdom, from the highest to the lowest, is likely to answer its main end best, when it is constructed with a single view to that end. . . . .

"Government is not an institution for the propagation of religion, any more than St. George's Hospital is an institution for the propagation of religion. And the most absurd and

* 'Ed. Rev.', April, 1839, p. 273-6.

pernicious consequences would follow if Government should pursue as its primary end, that which can never be more than its secondary end: though intrinsically more important than its primary end. But a Government which considers the religious instruction of the people as a secondary end, and follows out that principle faithfully, will we think be likely to do much good and little harm."

These sentences, I think, give a fair view of Lord Macaulay's philosophy of Church Establishments. It has all the clearness and precision that might be expected from him. But I own myself unable to accept it as it stands. I presume to think that perhaps Lord Macaulay, like myself, made, from a limited induction, a hasty generalisation. The difference was, that his theory was right for the practical purpose of the time, while mine was wrong. Considered, however, in the abstract, that theory appears to me to claim kindred with the ethical code of another writer, not less upright, and not less limpid, so to speak, than Lord Macaulay himself, I mean Dr. Paley. And the upshot of it may be comprised in three words: Government is police. All other functions, except those of police proper, are the accidents of its existence. As if a man should say to his friend when in the country, "I am going up to town; can I take anything for you?" So the State, while busy about protecting life and property, will allow its officer of police to perform any useful office for the community, to instruct a wayfarer as to his road, or tell the passer by what o'clock it is, provided it does not interfere with his watching the pickpocket, or laying the strong hand upon the assassin. I doubt if it is possible to cut out, as it were, with a pair of scissors,

patterns of policy, which shall solve for all time and place the great historic problem of the relation of the civil power to religion.

It seems to me that in every function of life, and in every combination with his fellow-creatures, for whatever purpose, the duties of man are limited only by his powers. It is easy to separate, in the case of a Gas Company or a Chess Club, the primary end for which it exists, from everything extraneous to that end. It is not so easy in the case of the State or of the family. If the primary end of the State is to protect life and property, so the primary end of the family is to propagate the race. But around these ends there cluster, in both cases, a group of moral purposes, variable indeed with varying circumstances, but yet inhering in the relation, and not external or merely incidental to it. The action of man in the State is moral, as truly as it is in the individual sphere; although it be limited by the fact that, as he is combined with others whose views and wills may differ from his own, the sphere of the common operations must be limited, first, to the things in which all are agreed; secondly, to the things in which, though they may not be agreed, yet equity points out, and the public sense acknowledges, that the whole should be bound by the sense of the majority.

I can hardly believe that even those, including as they do so many men both upright and able, who now contend on principle for the separation of the Church from the State, are so determined to exalt their theorem to the place of an universal truth, that they ask us to condemn the whole of that process, by

which, as the Gospel spread itself through the civilised world, Christianity became incorporated with the action of civil authority, and with the framework of public law. In the course of human history, indeed, we perceive little of unmixed evil, and far less of universal good. It is not difficult to discern that (in the language of Bishop Heber) as the world became Christian, Christianity became worldly; that the average tone of a system, which embraces in its wide-spreading arms the entire community, is almost of necessity lower than that of a society which, if large, is still private, and into which no man enters except by his own deliberate choice, very possibly even at the cost of much personal and temporal detriment. But Christ died for the race: and those who notice the limited progress of conversion in the world until alliance with the civil authority gave to His religion a wider access to the attention of mankind, may be inclined to doubt whether, without that alliance, its immeasurable and inestimable social results would ever have been attained. Allowing for all that may be justly urged against the danger of mixing secular motives with religious administration, and above all against the intrusion of force into the domain of thought; I for one cannot desire that Constantine in the government of the empire, that Justinian in the formation of its code of laws, or that Charlemagne in refounding society, or that Elizabeth in the crisis of the English Reformation, should have acted on the principle that the State and the Church in themselves are separate or alien powers, incapable of coalition.

But there are two causes, the combined operation of which, upon reaching a certain point of develop-

ment, relaxes or dissolves their union by a process as normal (if it be less beneficial) as that by which the union was originally brought about. One of these is the establishment of the principle of popular self-government as the basis of political constitutions. The other is the disintegration of Christendom from one into many communions. As long as the Church at large, or the Church within the limits of the nation, is substantially one, I do not see why the religious care of the subject, through a body properly constituted for the purpose, should cease to be a function of the State, with the whole action and life of which it has, throughout Europe, been so long and so closely associated. As long as the State holds, by descent, by the intellectual superiority of the governing classes, and by the good will of the people, a position of original and underived authority, there is no absolute impropriety, but the reverse, in its commending to the nation the greatest of all boons. But when, either by some Revolution of institutions from their summit to their base, or by a silent and surer process, analogous to that which incessantly removes and replaces the constituent parts of the human body, the State has come to be the organ of the deliberate and ascertained will of the community, expressed through legal channels—then the inculcation of a religion can no longer rest, in full or permanent force, upon its authority. When, in addition to this, the community itself is split and severed into opinions and communions, which, whatever their concurrence in the basis of Christian belief, are hostile in regard to the point at issue, so that what was meant for the nation dwindles into the private estate as it were of

a comparative handful—the attempt to maintain an Established Church becomes an error fatal to the peace, dangerous perhaps even to the life, of civil society. Such a Church then becomes (to use a figure I think of John Foster's), no longer the temple, but the mere cemetery, of a great idea. Such a policy is then not simply an attempt to treat what is superannuated and imbecile as if it were full of life and vigour, but to thwart the regular and normal action of the ruling social forces, to force them from their proper channels, and to turn them by artificial contrivance, as Apollo turned the rivers of Troas from their beds, to a purpose of our own. This is to set caprice against nature; and the end must be that, with more or less of delay, more or less of struggle or convulsion, nature will get the better of caprice.

But does it follow from all this, that the tone of moral action in the State should be lowered? Such a fear is what perplexes serious and sober men, who are laudably unwilling to surrender, in a world where falsehood has so wide a range, any portion of this vantage-ground of truth and right. I, who may have helped to mislead them by an over-hasty generalisation, would now submit what seems to me calculated to re-assure the mind. I make an appeal to the history of the last thirty years. During those years, what may be called the dogmatic allegiance of the State to religion has been greatly relaxed; but its consciousness of moral duty has been not less notably quickened and enhanced. I do not say this in depreciation of Christian dogma. But we are still a Christian people. Christianity has wrought itself into the public life of fifteen hundred years. Precious

truths, and laws of relative right and the brotherhood of man, such as the wisdom of heathenism scarcely dreamed of and could never firmly grasp, the Gospel has made to be part of our common inheritance, common as the sunlight that warms us, and as the air we breathe. Sharp though our divisions in belief may be, they have not cut so deep as to prevent, or as perceptibly to impair, the recognition of these great guides and fences of moral action. It is far better for us to trust to the operation of these our common principles and feelings, and to serve our Maker together in that wherein we are at one, rather than in aiming at a standard theoretically higher, to set out with a breach of the great commandment, which forms the groundwork of all relative duties, and to refuse to do as we would be done by.

It is, then, by a practical rather than a theoretic test that our Establishments of religion should be tried. In applying this practical test, we must be careful to do it with those allowances, which are as necessary for the reasoner in moral subjects, as it is for the reasoner in mechanics to allow for friction or for the resistance of the air. An Establishment that does its work in much, and has the hope and likelihood of doing it in more : an Establishment that has a broad and living way open to it, into the hearts of the people : an Establishment that can commend the services of the present by the recollections and traditions of a far-reaching past : an Establishment able to appeal to the active zeal of the greater portion of the people, and to the respect or scruples of almost the whole, whose children dwell chiefly on her actual living work and service, and whose adversaries, if she

has them, are in the main content to believe that there will be a future for them and their opinions: such an Establishment should surely be maintained. But an Establishment that neither does, nor has her hope of doing, work, except for a few, and those few the portion of the community whose claim to public aid is the smallest of all: an Establishment severed from the mass of the people by an impassable gulph, and by a wall of brass: an Establishment whose good offices, could she offer them, would be intercepted by a long unbroken chain of painful and shameful recollections: an Establishment leaning for support upon the extraneous aid of a State, which becomes discredited with the people by the very act of lending it: such an Establishment will do well for its own sake, and for the sake of its creed, to divest itself, as soon as may be, of gauds and trappings, and to commence a new career, in which, renouncing at once the credit and the discredit of the civil sanction, it shall seek its strength from within, and put a fearless trust in the message that it bears.

*September* 22, 1868.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.

[*Authentic Report.*]

# ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES

IN THE

# LIVERPOOL COLLEGE,

DEC^R. 21, 1872.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND ILLUSTRATIVE PASSAGES.

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LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1873.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

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# INTRODUCTION.

In taking so grave a step as to animadvert strongly on the published opinions of men of eminence and character, I think it my duty to show, by a few citations of their own words, where the original is English, and in the case of Dr. Strauss, by a few translated extracts, that I do not deal in merely vague accusations, and that I have not overstated the gravity of the case.

And by way of commencement, in order to show the change in the tone of the public, or the speculative mind during the last forty years, and to supply a measure of the distance over or down which we have travelled within that period, I will quote a passage from a competent and well-informed writer. In the 'Christian Advocate's' publication for 1829, Mr. Hugh James Rose, who then held the office at Cambridge, when giving his reason for a partial deviation from the usual course in the choice of his subject, observes as follows:—

"As far as I have been able to collect, no persons have stood forward, very recently, as the *avowed* opponents of Christianity, whose characters or whose works give them any claim to consideration or reply."*

Dr. Whewell's Bridgwater Treatise on Astronomy and Physics was published in 1834; and the whole of that series, given to the world about the same date, seemed to be a public proclamation of the established harmony between Science and Religion.

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* Advertisement to Rose's 'Christianity Always Progressive' (London 1829).

Neither of the Universities had, as far as I know, been disturbed for a great length of time by any controversy affecting the foundations of belief. Dean Milman's 'History of the Jews,' which appeared about 1830, was attacked with severity, perhaps almost ferocity, by Dr. Faussett, then the Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The same work was republished, with a preface fully maintaining its propositions, in 1863. Those, who read it now, will find some assistance towards estimating the change in our position, from observing the slightness of the cause which then sufficed to produce an excitement not inconsiderable.

I must add that for twenty years, or thereabouts, from that time, according to my observation, belief was everywhere, to all appearance, progressively extended and confirmed. Perhaps the first note of the coming assault was the publication of the work entitled 'Vestiges of Creation.' It obtained a wide circulation; but in general society it was almost universally condemned. I here purposely confine my references to the works of men anonymous or dead. The difference of times became observable, when the fatalistic book of Mr. Buckle, notwithstanding its ungainly form and the portentous width of its plan, became a favourite even in drawing-rooms and in boudoirs. But the spirit of class with us enters into these matters among others; and while unbelief well printed, well bound, and well ushered into the world—in a word, unbelief in broadcloth—seems to be held perfectly "respectable," unbelief in fustian is still almost savagely condemned.

I wish to add that the aim of my Address is not to preach pessimism, but to point to a specific evil for a specific purpose. And that purpose is to warn, I will not say to prepare—for that is a much larger matter—the minds of those who heard it, against that which they cannot fail to meet with, warned or unwarned. I named accordingly one

or two of the seductive (I am almost tempted to call them cant) phrases of the day, and some of the thoroughly unsound intellectual habits which, it is strange to say, are more or less tolerated among those sometimes described as the thinkers of the age, sometimes by other favourite and not less imposing titles. I am aware that many objections may be taken to my having touched the subject. One of those I should feel the most lies against the necessarily crabbed and partial nature of my reference to such parts of it as I have named. Besides, there are other heads which I should have wished to touch, and among them the strange assumption that, because God is infinite, the finite mind of man can have no points of true contact with Him; and the grossly fallacious character (as I believe) of the assumption that not only for individuals but for generations, and in the long-run of human history, Christian morality, or the morality which has hitherto been considered Christian, can be separated from Christian dogma, and can permanently survive its abandonment.

I wish to place on record my conviction that belief cannot now be defended by reticence, any more than by railing, or by any privileges and assumptions. Nor, again, can it be defended exclusively by its "standing army"—by priests and ministers of religion. To them, I do not doubt, will fall the chief share of the burden, and of the honour, and of the victory. But we commit a fatal error if we allow this to become a merely professional question. It is the affair of all.

It is very difficult in handling such controversies to avoid the tone of assumption and denunciation. I desire, therefore, once for all, to abjure all imputations against motives or characters. Equal credit for the love of truth should be allowed by all to all, and the endeavour made, or at least intended, to unite plain speaking with personal respect.

Yet this, though an obvious is not an easy duty; for it is impossible to view certain states of mind as other than the results of strong, though honest, self-delusion.

This duty of personal respect is especially due at a time, when the writers against Christian belief stand in a moral position so different from that of its principal French assailants during the last century. The combat is not now with the authors of the 'Pucelle' and the 'Confessions;' but with men who, though they believe less than Voltaire and Rousseau, yet either revere or sympathise more; who for the most part seek to avoid hard language; who commonly confess not only that Christianity has done good, but even that it may still confer at least some relative benefit before the day of perfect preparedness for its removal shall arrive, and even the most "advanced" of whom, like the author of the 'Martyrdom of Man,' appears to be touched by a lingering sentiment of tenderness, while he blows his trumpet for a final assault at once upon the "Syrian superstition," and on the poor, pale, and semi-animate substitutes for it, which Deism has devised.

# ADDRESS.

[*Two passages enclosed within brackets were omitted in the delivery on account of time.*]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and my Younger Friends;

Thirty years have passed away since, in consequence of the accidental disability of a worthier person, I was called upon to deliver the Inaugural Address at the opening of this Institution. In other words, the College has now lived through one generation of men.

At the close of such a term, we may suitably look back, to ascertain how far it has fulfilled or disappointed the expectations of its founders. And first I will refer to the hope they entertained, that they would be able to secure for the government of the Institution the services of a series of learned, able, and earnest men. This expectation, I venture to say, has been amply realised in the persons of Mr. Conybeare, of your old friend now present, Dean Howson, and of Mr. Butler.

Further, it was to be an institution having religion for its centre and its base; and that religion was to be the religion of the Church of England. That the national Church is not in less esteem now than it was then with the nation, the immense increase, alike of her fabrics and her ministrations, may sufficiently show. That those who guide the fortunes of this College do not desire to change the ground they have occupied from the first, can

need no proof on an occasion, when I know from the Principal how much it is desired by them to erect a Chapel within the precincts, in order to the more solemn and effectual celebration of the offices of religion.

But it was also a part of the design, that with religious teaching should be combined the practice of religious liberty; that no compulsory lessons or observances should be imposed, to hinder the enjoyment by the entire youth of Liverpool of the general advantages of the College. How has this portion of the scheme been found to fare? The kindness of your old, respected, and indefatigable Secretary enables me to answer the question. From him I learn that no religious difficulty has impeded the working of the plan; that among the pupils of the College, comprehensive with respect to nationality as well as to communion, there were found a short time back, upon inquiries, Unitarians, Wesleyans, Baptists, Roman Catholics, members of the Greek Church, Presbyterians, and Jews; and that, of the whole number of pupils in the three schools of the College, not less than one-fourth were of religious professions distinct from our own.

Nor have the promoters of the College been disappointed in their hope to furnish the people of Liverpool with easy access to the higher forms of education at their own doors, and to strengthen and enlarge their connection with the old Universities of the land. The seven hundred pupils on its books afford ample proof of the favour of the community; and the number of able men whom it has sent to those Universities indicates the wish of Liverpool to secure for its sons the advantages of what has been commonly termed the higher education.

[There is, however, some difference among us as to the question, what really is the higher education? There are those who think not only that our old methods of

training the young were too exclusive, but that they were fundamentally bad; who would supplant entirely, or expel from the first place in education, the study of man in its various branches, and would substitute for it the study of Nature as it exists otherwise than in man: and again who, in so much as they would admit of the human studies into the course of education, would put aside the ancient for the modern, whether in philosophy, history, or language. The great faults, as I believe, of the ancient educational studies of this country were—first, that they were too narrow; and secondly, that they were too uniform, and did not take heed enough of varieties both of condition and of mind. The consequence was, in the very best men, frequent ignorance of what every cultivated person ought to know; and in all who were unequal to the favoured studies, or whose turn lay in another direction, a great waste of time with little fruit, if not even a confirmed habit of idleness. Therefore it is to be admitted that much wrong was done to the natural sciences. But that wrong is not to be redressed by giving them prospectively more than their due. Such notwithstanding appears to be the desire of some of their professors; and it has been indicated by a practice of claiming for them, in a pre-eminent or even an exclusive sense, the name of science. So that a man who observes and reasons upon plants or animals, the constituent parts of the globe, or of the celestial system, is a man of science; but to observe and reason upon history, upon philosophy in its older sense, or upon theology, establishes no such title, though the very same process of collecting and digesting facts, and of drawing inferences from them, is pursued in the one case and in the other; and though it seems sufficiently absurd to hold that there is a science of the human body, but that there can be no science of the mind or soul. This can surely be no better than a mere fashion of the

hour, and with the hour it must pass away. It is the incidental excess of a reforming movement, and we may hope that while the excess will disappear the reform will remain. Were it, from a mere caprice, to harden into an accepted doctrine, I see not in what it could end, except in a pure materialism.]

But, gentlemen, while freely admitting that what may be termed utilitarian studies were in my early days too much overlooked, that the knowledge of the material universe was sadly neglected, that to many minds only such food was offered as they were wholly unable to digest, and that the upshot was a lamentable waste of power, I claim for the old method of our public schools and colleges that it had merits and advantages, for the loss of which no parade of universality, no increase of mere information, could possibly compensate. It taught with that rigid accuracy, which is the foundation of all really solid learning. It held thoroughness in a few things to be better than show in many. It enthroned in the seat of honour the most masculine studies. I have now passed forty years of life upon an arena of competition as sharp as is to be found anywhere in the world. I have seen all forms of training, practical as well as other, pretty fairly matched with one another; and all descriptions of men, with every variety of natural gifts, bringing up as it were the results of their various modes of education to be tested. The best mode has to struggle with the defects of nature, and the worst will not wholly neutralise her bounties. Here and there, again, you may find a man whose self-training power can dispense with all appliances from without. But these are rare instances indeed.

"Pauci, . . .
Dîs geniti, potuere."*

* Virg. Æn. vi. 129.

I speak, however, not of the one but of the million; and, as among the million, I affirm that there is no training for the conflicts and the toils of life, so far as I have seen, which does greater justice to the receiver of it than the old training of the English public schools and universities. I speak of my own experience and observation, in the sphere in which I have lived; but probably there are few spheres, though I will not say there are none, in which the whole making of a man is more severely tried. And that my testimony, which is of course limited, may at least be definite, I will add that I speak of such training as it was at Oxford, more, I am sorry to say, than forty years ago.

All this must be a paradox and a stumbling-block to such as think, that the sole or main purpose of education is to stock the mind with knowledge as a shop is stocked with goods, and that the wants of life are to be met like the wants of customers. And doubtless one of the purposes of education is thus to furnish materials for future employment; but this is its lower, not its higher purpose. The shop takes no benefit, though it may take damage, from the wares which it receives; but the greatest and best use of the information, which is imported into the mind, is to improve the mind itself. A more instructive comparison may be drawn between education and food. As the main purpose of food is to make the body strong and active, so the main purpose of education is to make the mind solid, elastic, and capable of enduring wear and tear. The studies which are most useful, so far as utility is external to the mind, though they are on that account the most popular, and though they are indispensable,—such, I mean, as reading, writing, arithmetic, modern languages, or geography,—are those which do, not most but least, for our intellectual and moral training. The studies which have it for their main object to act on the composition and capacity of the man,

will, to such as follow them with their whole heart, be found to yield a richer harvest, though the seed may be longer in the ground. Yet I fully admit that the test of a good education is neither abstract nor inflexible. Such an education must take account both of the capacity of the pupil and of the possibilities of his future calling. All I would plead for is, that where there is a choice, the highest shall be preferred. In the words of our most famous living poet—

"It was our duty to have loved the highest;"*

And our duty it must ever remain.

In this institution I trust the prerogatives of "the highest" will always be admitted; and around it there will be marshalled, each in its due order and degree, the numerous and ever multiplying studies, of which every one has an undoubted title to honour in its tendency to embellish or improve the life of man.

But indeed there is much to be said and done about education, besides determining the relative claims, or, as it would now be called, the due co-ordination, of the different kinds of knowledge. Quite apart from these claims, much, my younger friends, and more than you can as yet perhaps fully understand, depends upon the spirit in which those kinds of knowledge are pursued. And this again depends, not upon the incidental advantages of birth or wealth, but upon ourselves. The favours of fortune have both their value and their charm; but there is in a man himself, if he will but open out and cultivate his manhood, that which will be found amply sufficient to supply their place.

Now, as to this important subject, the spirit in which we pursue education, the degree in which we turn our advantages to account, I must say of us here in England that we do not

* Tennyson's 'Guinevere.'

stand well. Our old Universities, and the schools above the rank of primary, have as a class the most magnificent endowments in the world. I am well aware that this institution is far indeed from being open to such a reproach. It may, however, be doubted whether the amount of these endowments, in England alone, is not equal to their amount on the whole continent of Europe taken together. Matters have mended, and are, I hope, mending. We have good and thorough workers, but not enough of them. The results may be good as far as they go ; but they do not go far. But in truth this " beggarly return," not of empty but of ill-filled boxes, is but one among many indications of a wide-spread vice ; a scepticism in the public mind, of old as well as young, respecting the value of learning and of culture, and a consequent slackness in seeking their attainment. We seem to be spoiled by the very facility and abundance of the opportunities around us. We do not in this matter stand well, as compared with the men of the middle ages, on whom we are too ready to look down. For then, when scholarships and exhibitions, and fellowships and headships, were few, and even before they were known, and long centuries before triposes and classes had been invented, the beauty and the power of Knowledge filled the hearts of men with love, and they went in quest of her, even from distant lands, with ardent devotion, like pilgrims to a favoured shrine.

Again, we do not stand well as compared with Scotland, where, at least, the advantages of education are well understood, and though its honours and rewards are much fewer, yet self-denying labour, and unsparing energy in pursuit of knowledge, are far more common than with us. And once more, we do not stand well as compared with Germany; where, with means so much more slender as to be quite out of comparison with ours, the results are so much more abundant, that, in the ulterior prosecution of almost every

branch of inquiry, it is to Germany, and the works of the Germans, that the British student must look for assistance. Yet I doubt if it can be said with truth that the German is superior to the Englishman in natural gifts; or that he has greater or even equal perseverance, provided only the Englishman had his heart in the matter. But Germany has two marked advantages: a far greater number of her educated class are really in earnest about their education; and they have not yet learned, as we, I fear, have learned, to undervalue, or even in a great measure to despise, simplicity of life.

Our honours, and our prizes, and our competitive examinations, what for the most part are they, but palliatives applied to neutralise a degenerate indifference, to the existence of which they have been the most conclusive witness? Far be it from me to decry them, or to seek to do away with them. In my own sphere, I have laboured to extend them. They are, however, the medicines of our infirmity, not the ornaments of our health. They supply from without inducements to seek knowledge, which ought to be its own reward. They do something to expel the corroding pest of idleness, that special temptation to a wealthy country, that deadly enemy in all countries to the body and the soul of man. They get us over the first and most difficult stages in the formation of habits, which, in a proportion of cases at least, we may hope will endure, and become in course of time self-acting.

One other claim I must make on behalf of examinations. It is easy to point out their inherent imperfections. Plenty of critics are ready to do this; for in the case of first employments under the State, they are the only tolerably efficient safeguard against gross abuses, and such abuses are never without friends. But from really searching and strong examinations, such as the best of those in our Universities and schools,

there arises at least one great mental benefit, difficult of attainment by any other means. In early youth, while the mind is still naturally supple and elastic, they teach the practice, and they give the power, of concentrating all its force, all its resources, at a given time, upon a given point. What a pitched battle is to the commander of an army, a strong examination is to an earnest student. All his faculties, all his attainments must be on the alert, and wait the word of command; method is tested at the same time with strength; and over the whole movement presence of mind must preside. If, in the course of his after life, he chances to be called to great and concentrated efforts, he will look back with gratitude to those examinations, which more perhaps than any other instrument may have taught him how to make them.

General remissness, gentlemen, is not the besetting sin of our great town communities; least among them all of Liverpool. Nowhere is the pedestrian's pace more rapid than in her streets; nowhere is his countenance more charged with purpose. We live, gentlemen, in a wealth-making age. It may surprise you to hear, but I believe it to be unquestionably true, that more wealth has, in this little island of ours, been accumulated since the commencement of the present century —that is, within the lifetime of many who are still among us— than in all the preceding ages from the time, say, of Julius Cæsar; or any other more remote date you please. And, again, at least as much of this wealth has been stored within the last twenty years, as in the preceding fifty. Liverpool has had even more than her share in this great, this almost portentous activity. Since I knew her, she has scooped four miles of solitary shore into teeming docks; and I am now told she is about to add other miles to these. Fed by the mere overflow of her wealth and energy, the little hamlets that faced her in Cheshire have grown into great and vigorous town districts, larger, I believe, in population than she her-

self was at the commencement of the century. Her opulence, I think, has grown in still greater proportion than her numbers. If we ask, Where is this to end? when will this marvellous process be arrested? when will this great flood-tide begin to ebb? I, for one, know not; I am by no means sure that we are as yet even near high-water. But with the impetuosity of this galloping career, with the wonderful development of such arts of life as bear directly upon enjoyment, there grows up continually a correlative amount of dangers and temptations.

> "The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers."*

So it is. The world, in truth, becomes more worldly. It ties us down to earth by more and stronger cords, and to break them requires bolder and more assiduous effort. If we wish to secure our freedom against the perils that environ it, this is not to be done by renouncing business, or by abating energy in its pursuit; it is by balancing that activity with other activities. Yes, it may be replied, we ought to live in the world unseen, as well as in the world we see. And that is doubtless true; and for many, whose opportunities are small, it is sufficient; but for this great community, whose opportunities are large, though true, it is not the whole truth. The entire nature of man is the garden, which is given him to cultivate. We cannot, as a nation or as individuals, be well if we do not provide for the soul as well as the body. But neither can we be well if we do not, according to our means, provide for the mind as well as the soul. That is the principle enshrined and represented in this institution, as it is in every ancient university and college, and as it must be in every institution which aspires

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* Wordsworth's 'Miscellaneous Sonnets,' No. 33.

to superintend anything that deserves the name of the higher education.

And why should not Liverpool, why should not commerce, afford a field favourable to art, literature, and science, as much as to philanthropy and religion? Half a century ago, the name of this town stood high with respect to mental cultivation. There is nothing in the pursuit of the merchant that ought to preclude the pursuit of mental refinement. The day's work is not so long, nor the anxiety so constant, as to wear out the whole stock of energy that a vigorous English nature can command. In Greece, the State which took its place at the head of literature and philosophy and art was noted for its encouragement of trade. "The best products of Sicily and Italy, of Cyprus and Egypt, of Lydia and Pontus, and every other country, flowed," says Xenophon,* "into the markets of Athens, which ruled the sea." "Hither," says Thucydides,† "come all the products of all the earth;" and Pericles and Alcibiades‡ were not ashamed of superintending extensive manufactories which they owned.

In Florence, the true Athens of modern times, many of the nobles were among the most conspicuous merchants.§ And when Holland took the place of Italy at the head of the commerce of Europe, Art and Science walked in the noble train of Liberty, and the University of Leyden, founded in memory of the heroic efforts of the citizens, took its place, even in that little country, among the very foremost of the universities of Christendom.‖ We now speak with deserved respect and gratitude of the learned labours of Germany: but those who observe the German names, and the German

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* Xenophon, 'De Rep. Ath.' ii. 7. † Thuc. ii. 38.

‡ Boeckh, 'Public Economy of Athens,' ii. 63 (Trans. London, 1828). See also St. John, 'Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece,' iii. 276.

§ Hallam's 'Middle Ages' (8th edit.), vol. i. p. 285.

‖ Motley's 'United Netherlands,' vol. iv. ch. liii. p. 526, ed. 1869.

firms, which have established themselves in the commercial communities of England, will readily understand that no country is making advances more marked than theirs in the paths of enterprise.

If then, as I am persuaded, there are among you, my younger friends, those who, though destined to the pursuits which have made this great emporium famous, have in tasting of the cup of knowledge acquired the desire for longer and for deeper draughts; if any of you can say with Virgil of his Muses,

"Quarum sacra fero ingenti perculsus amore,"*

there is no reason why he should be discouraged; no reason why he should regard the beginning of business as the end of culture; but let him rather resolve that, though it be but in fragments of his time, he will woo his studies with a lifelong love.

And now forgive me if, using the melancholy privilege of age, and addressing a few words especially to you who are still so young, I seem to assume that in youth you may learn more readily from others some lessons, which you would acquire at greater cost and more slowly for yourselves. To each and all I would say, that God has sent no one of you into the world without a work ready for him to do, and facilities wherewith to do it. What this work is, reflection, or parental guidance, or a kind of instinct, may have told you. If it has not yet been discovered, you have only to follow this one rule: Do your best; try to make the most of all your faculties; "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do," says the wise man,† and in like manner, whatsoever thy mind findeth to do, "do it with thy might." You would with justice think meanly of a boy who did not at cricket, or football, or any other sport, try with all his heart to win, or

* Virg. 'Georgics,' ii. 476.

† Eccles. ix. 10.

do his part towards winning. Is there not something wrong, I would almost say something base, in our standard of action, of which bone and muscle are thus developed, and most properly developed, to the uttermost, if the mind is allowed to wither and to dwindle for want of manly exercise?

You, who have successfully shown your disposition to excel, I congratulate you on your success. But that success would be a misfortune and a snare to you, if you rested in it; if, to use a homely expression, you went to sleep upon it. It is like the meal which the traveller enjoys upon his way, but the purpose of which is to strengthen him for his further journey. The prize is good, but the efforts which are made to gain the prize are far better. What is most valuable in these competitions, then, the defeated share with the conquerors, nay further yet, one defeated after a hard and bracing struggle gains more in the true work of education, the strengthening of his mind, than some easy winner who canters in without serious exertion. And such defeat, in a mind of true British temper, only strengthens the resolution, which never in the long-run fails, to try yet more manfully next time.

For, do what you will, your life, because it is a human life, will be, and that in many ways, a trial.

"So it is willed above, where will is power." *

And this world-old truth seems, as the world grows older, to grow more vividly and pointedly true, with the ever-growing strain and noise, and haste and waste, of life; a trial which cannot be escaped by flying from it, but which may be conquered by facing it.

On an occasion like this, I should not have desired, even before those of you, my younger friends, who are on the very threshold of active and responsible manhood, to dwell in a

* From Dante, 'Inferno,' iii. 95.

marked manner on the particular trials you will have to encounter. But the incidents of the time are no common incidents; and there is one among them so obtrusive, that youth cannot long enjoy its natural privilege of unacquaintance with the mischief, and so formidable, that it really requires to be forewarned against the danger. I refer to the extraordinary and boastful manifestation, in this age of ours, and especially perhaps in the year which is about to close, of the extremest forms of unbelief.

I am not about to touch upon the differences which distinguish, and partially sever, the Church of England from those communions by which it is surrounded; whether they be of Protestant Nonconformists, or of those who have recently incorporated into the Christian faith what we must suppose they think a bulwark and not a danger to religion, the doctrine of Papal infallibility. For handling controversies of such a class this is not the time, I am not the person, and my office is not the proper office. It is not now only the Christian Church, or only the Holy Scripture, or only Christianity, which is attacked. The disposition is boldly proclaimed to deal alike with root and branch, and to snap utterly the ties which, under the still venerable name of Religion, unite man with the unseen world, and lighten the struggles and the woes of life by the hope of a better land.

[These things are done as the professed results, and the newest triumphs, of Modern Thought and Modern Science; but I believe that neither Science nor Thought is responsible, any more than Liberty is responsible, for the misdeeds committed in their names. Upon the ground of what is termed evolution, God is relieved of the labour of creation; in the name of unchangeable laws, He is discharged from governing the world; and His function of judgment is also dispensed with, as justice and benevolence are held to forbid that men should hereafter be called to strict account for actions,

which under these unchangeable laws they may have committed. But these are only the initial stages of the process. Next, we are introduced to the doctrine of the Absolute and the Unconditioned; and, under the authority of these phrases (to which, and many other phrases, in their proper places, I have no objection) we are instructed that we can know nothing about God, and therefore can have no practical relations with Him. One writer, or, as it is now termed thinker, announces with pleasure that he has found the means of reconciling Religion and Science. The mode is in principle most equitable. He divides the field of thought between them. To Science he awards all that of which we know, or may know, something; to Religion he leaves a far wider domain,—that of which we know, and can know, nothing.* This sounds like jest, but it is melancholy earnest; and I doubt whether any such noxious crop has been gathered in such rank abundance from the press of England in any former year of our literary history as in this present year of our redemption, eighteen hundred and seventy-two.]

I will not, on this occasion, pain and weary you with a multitude of details. I will only refer by name to one who is not a British writer—to the learned German, Dr. Strauss. He is a man of far wider fame than any British writer who marches under the same banner; and I mention him with the respect which is justly due, not only to his ability, but to the straightforward earnestness, and to the fairness and mildness towards antagonists in argument, with which, so far as I have had the opportunity of judging him from his present or former works, he pursues his ill-starred and hopeless enterprise.

He has published, during the present year, a volume entitled 'The Old Belief and the New.'† In his Intro-

* See Illustrative Passages, A.

† 'Der alte und der neue Glaube: ein Bekenntniss.' Von David Friedrich Strauss. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1872.

duction, he frankly raises the question whether, considering the progress which culture has now made, there is any longer occasion to maintain religious worship* in any form whatever. Why, he asks, on behalf of a party in Germany, for which he speaks, and for which he claims that it answers most fully to the state of Modern Thought, should there be a separate religious society at all, when we have already provision made for all men in the State, the School, Science, and Fine Art? In his First Chapter he puts the question, "Are we still Christians?" † and, after a detailed examination, he concludes,—always speaking on behalf of Modern Thought,—that if we wish our yea to be yea and our nay nay,—if we are to think and speak our thoughts as honourable upright men, we must reply that we are Christians no longer.‡ This question and answer, however, he observes are insufficient. The essential and fundamental inquiry is, whether we are or are not still to have a Religion? §

To this inquiry he devotes his Second Chapter. In this Second Chapter, he finds that there is no personal God; ‖ there is no future state: the dead live in the recollection of survivors: this is enough for them.¶ After this he has little difficulty in answering the question he has put. All religious worship ought to be abolished.** The very name of "Divine Service" is an indignity to man. Therefore, in the sense in which religion has been heretofore understood, his answer is that we ought to have no religion any more. But proceeding, as he always does, with commendable frankness, he admits that he ought to fill with something the void which he has made. This he accordingly proceeds to do. Instead of God, he offers to us the All, or Universum.†† This All or Universum possesses, he tells us, neither consciousness

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* P. 7. † P. 12 and chap. i. ‡ P. 94.
§ Chap. ii. p. 95. ‖ See Illustrative Passages, B.
¶ P. 372. ** P. 144. †† P. 146.

nor reason. But it presents to us order and law. He thinks it fitted, therefore, to be the object of a new and true piety, which he claims for his Universum, as the devout of the old style did for their God. If any one repudiates this doctrine, to Dr. Strauss's reason, the repudiation is absurdity, and to his feelings blasphemy.*

These are not the ravings of a maniac; nor are they the mere dreams of an imaginative high-wrought enthusiast such as Comte† appears to have been; they are the grave conclusions, after elaborate reasoning, of a learned, a calm, and, so far as form is concerned, a sober-minded man, who in this very year has been commended to us, in England, by another Apostle of Modern Thought as one of the men to whose guidance we ought, if we are wise, to submit ourselves in matter of religious belief.‡

I would not, gentlemen, even if I had the capacity and the time, make an attempt from this place to confute these astonishing assertions; for I have no fear that by their exhibition they will beguile or attract you. Neither do I search for the hard names of controversy to describe them; for they best describe themselves. Neither can I profess to feel an unmixed regret at their being forced, thus eagerly and thus early, into notice; because it is to be hoped that they will cause a shock and a reaction, and will compel many, who may have too lightly valued the inheritance so dearly bought for them, and may have entered upon dangerous paths, to consider, while there is yet time, whither those paths will lead them. In no part of his writings, perhaps, has Strauss been so effective, as where he assails the inconsistency of those who adopt his premises, but decline to follow him to their conclusions. Suffice it

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* P. 146. † Illustrative Passages, C.

‡ Willis's 'Life of Spinoza,' p. 26, note. See Illustrative Passages, D.

to say, these opinions are by no means a merely German brood;* there are many writers of kindred sympathies in England, and some of as outspoken courage. But, in preparing yourselves for the combat of life, I beg you to take this also into your account, that the spirit of denial is abroad, and that it has challenged all Religion, but especially the Religion we profess, to the combat of life and death.

But I venture to offer you a few suggestions, in the hope that they may not be wholly without their use.

You will hear in your after-life much of the duty and delight of following free thought; and in truth the man, who does not value the freedom of his thoughts, deserves to be described as Homer describes the slave; he is but half a man.† Saint Paul, I suppose, was a teacher of free thought, when he bade his converts to prove all things;‡ but it seems he went terribly astray when he proceeded to bid them "hold fast that which is good;" for he evidently assumed that there was something by which they could hold fast. And so he bade Timothy keep that which was committed to his charge;§ and another Apostle has instructed us to "earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."‖ But the free thought, of which we now hear so much, seems too often to mean thought roving and vagrant more than free; like Delos, in the ancient legend, drifting on the seas of Greece, without a root, a direction, or a home.

Again, you will hear incessantly of the advancement of the present age, and of the backwardness of those which have gone before it. And truly it has been a wonderful age; but let us not exaggerate. It has been, and it is, an age of immense mental, as well as material activity; it

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* See Illustrative Passages, E. † Odyss. x. 322. ‡ 1 Thess. v. 21. § 1 Tim. vi. 20. ‖ Jude 3.

is by no means an age abounding in minds of the first order, in those whom time establishes as the great immortal guides and teachers of mankind. It has tapped, as it were, and made disposable for man, vast natural forces; but the mental power employed is not to be measured by the mere size of the results. To perfect that wonder of travel, the locomotive, has perhaps not required the expenditure of more mental strength and application, than to perfect that wonder of music, the violin. In the material sphere, the achievements of the age are splendid and unmixed. In the social sphere, they are great and noble; but seem ever to be confronted by a succession of new problems, which almost defy solution. In the sphere of pure intellect, I doubt whether posterity will rate us as highly as we rate ourselves. But that which I most wish to observe is this, that it is an insufferable arrogance in the men of any age to assume what I may call airs of unmeasured superiority over former ages. God, who cares for us, cared for them also. In the goods of this world we may advance by strides; but it is by steps only and not strides, and by slow and not always steady steps, that all durable improvement of man, in the higher ranges of his being, is alone to be effected.

Again, my friends, you will hear much to the effect that the divisions among Christians render it impossible to say what Christianity is, and so destroy all certainty as to what is the true religion. But if the divisions among Christians are remarkable, not less so is their unity in the greatest doctrines that they hold. Well-nigh fifteen hundred years—years of a more sustained activity than the world had ever before seen—have passed away, since the great controversies concerning the Deity and the Person of the Redeemer were, after a long agony, determined. As before that time in a manner less defined, but adequate for their day, so ever since that time, amid all chance and change, more, aye

many more, than ninety-nine in every hundred Christians have with one voice confessed the Deity and Incarnation of our Lord as the cardinal and central truths of our Religion. Surely there is some comfort here, some sense of brotherhood; some glory due to the past, some hope for the times that are to come.

On one, and only one, more of the favourite fallacies of the day I will yet presume to touch. It is the opinion and the boast of some that man is not responsible for his belief. Lord Brougham was at one time stated to have given utterance to this opinion. Whether truly, I do not remember; but this I know, it was my privilege to hear from his own lips the needful and due limitation of that proposition. "Man," he said, "is not responsible to man for his belief." But as before God, one and the same law applies to opinions and to acts; or rather to inward and to outward acts; for opinions are inward acts. Many a wrong opinion may be guiltless because formed in ignorance, and because that ignorance may not be our fault. But who shall presume to say that there is no mercy for wrong actions also, when they, too, have been due to ignorance, and that ignorance has not been guilty? The question is not whether judgments and actions are in the same *degree* influenced by the condition of the moral motives.* It is a question of the principle, on which judgment is to be based.

If it is undeniable that self-love and passion have an influence upon both, then, so far as that influence goes, for both we must be prepared to answer. Should we, in common life, ask a body of swindlers for an opinion upon swindling? or of gamblers for an opinion upon gambling? or of misers upon bounty? And if, in matters of religion, we allow pride and perverseness to raise a cloud between us and the truth

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* See Illustrative Passages, F.

so that we see it not, the false opinion that we form is but the index of that perverseness and that pride, and both for them, and for it as their offspring, we shall be justly held responsible. Who may be the persons, upon whom this responsibility will fall, it is not ours to judge. These laws are given to us, not to apply presumptuously to others; it is enough if we enforce them honestly against ourselves.

Next to a Christian life, my friends, you will find your best defence against reckless novelty of speculation in sobriety of temper, and in sound intellectual habits. Be slow to stir inquiries, which you do not mean patiently to pursue to their proper end. Be not afraid oftentimes to suspend your judgment; or to feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bounds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth, which were heretofore hidden from the whole family of man; for the opening of such roads would not be so much in favour, as caprice. If it is bad to yield a blind submission to authority, it is not less an error to deny to it its reasonable weight. Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, regard it with reverence and gratitude; and accept its accumulations, alike in the inward and in the outward spheres, as the patrimony, which it is your part in life both to preserve and to improve.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone for the Address having been carried,

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and my Friends of the College, I acknowledge with sincere gratitude the thanks you have been good enough to offer in a manner so pleasing to me; and I feel that they derive an additional value, not only from the kind remarks of the chairman, and his reference to former times, but also from the circumstance that the proposal was seconded by one

whose name stands so high upon the roll of the benefactors of this institution as our respected friend the Dean of Chester. I can truly declare, gentlemen, that when the Principal was good enough to propose to me that I should undertake this office, I did not look upon it as a matter of mere compliment or ceremony, but as one of very serious duty; and in that light it is that I have approached it, and have endeavoured to perform it. Further, I must say that it is always a source of pleasure to me to be called upon to perform, or to feel myself able to perform—which is not always the case—some act of public duty in Liverpool. I find cause for gratification in everything which refreshes my memory of the place, and strengthens my connection with it. It is not unnatural that I should feel a strong interest in Liverpool, where I have continually before me the recollection of my father, and where I also rejoice to know the presence of my Brother; nor is there any portion of the proceedings of this day which is more gratifying to my feelings than the manner in which reference has been made to my Brother, and the warmth of feeling with which that reference has been received. I trust that the connection between Liverpool and our family will long continue. Liverpool is, after all, but a very young place, when considered as the seat of a great community; but I see here some whose names have been well known in its history almost ever since it began to have one; and I hope that, as time goes on, Liverpool will have its old families like other places, famous for commerce in other times and countries, and like other districts of this country now. I know not why commerce in England should not have its old families, rejoicing to be connected with commerce from generation to generation. It has been so in other countries: I trust it will be so in this country. I think it a subject of sorrow, and almost a scandal, when those families, which have either acquired or

recovered station and opulence through commerce turn their backs upon it, and seem to be ashamed of it. It certainly is not so with my Brother or with me. His sons are treading in his steps, and one of my sons, I rejoice to say, is treading in the steps of my Father and my Brother. I hope, therefore, gentlemen, you will see that we are not unfaithful to the cause, and to the place with which we have been so long familiar. In the task I have discharged to-day, I have not studied the arts of flattery. I have endeavoured to practise that plain speaking which I know is dear to Englishmen, and I trust it will be given to many of you whom I see now before me upon the threshold of their life, to become an ornament and an honour to this place, and to give a good practical demonstration to the world that the pursuit of commerce and the interests of human cultivation are not alien from one another, but are, on the contrary, harmoniously allied. (Loud applause.)

# ILLUSTRATIVE PASSAGES.

## A.—p. 23.

### Religion and Science.

My reference is to Mr. Herbert Spencer. See his 'First Principles,' and especially the chapter on the "Reconciliation of Science and Religion." It is needless to cite particular passages. It would be difficult to mistake its meaning; for it is written with great ability and clearness, as well as with every indication of sincerity. Still it vividly recalls to mind an old story of the man who, wishing to be rid of one who was in his house, said, "Sir, there are two sides to my house, and we will divide them; you shall take the outside."

I believe Mr. Spencer has been described in one of our daily journals as the first thinker of the age.

## B.—p. 24.

### The Recent Work of Dr. Strauss.

These passages are given as specimens of the work of Dr. Strauss, rather than as supplying the body of proof of the propositions set forth in the text of the Address; and I would remind the reader that Dr. Strauss may protest against being bound by a rendering into another language for which he is not responsible, although I do not think any defects in the translation will be found to affect the substance.

The "We" of Dr. Strauss in this work is not according to the common editorial use of the pronoun, but is meant, as I understand it, to mark the work throughout as the manifesto of a party.

I.

THE RESURRECTION.

"Seldom has an incredible occurrence been worse testified; never has one ill testified been intrinsically more incredible. I have, in my 'Life of Jesus,' appropriated to this subject a searching scrutiny, which I will not here repeat. The upshot of it alone I hold it to be my duty, as well as my right, to declare without any sort of reserve. Viewed historically, that is to say, when the prodigious results of this belief are taken together with its total want of foundation, the narrative of the Resurrection of Jesus can only be described as a world-wide humbug (*welthistorischer Humbug*)."—p. 79.

II.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

"Why is it, then, that we ought to have no worship in future? Because we have broken loose from the other constituent part of Religion, which is also the untrue and, in relation to the sentiment of independence, the more ignoble part of it—namely, the desire and the idea that, through our worship, we may be enabled to extract something from our God. We need only take the expression 'Divine Service,' and acquire a perception of the grovelling anthropopathism it involves, in order to perceive how and for what reason anything of that kind is no longer admissible from our point of view."—p. 144.

III.

PIETY TOWARDS THE UNIVERSUM.

"We have been seeking to determine, whether our point of view, from which the law-governed All, full of life and intelligence, is the summit of thought (*die höchste Idee*), can still be called a religious point of view: and we have animadverted upon Schopenhauer, who loses no opportunity of

flying in the face of this which is our Idea. As I have said, such outbreaks impress our understanding as absurdities; to our feelings, they are blasphemies. It appears to us rash and reckless, on the part of a mere human individual, so boldly to set himself up against the All, out of which he grows, and from which he has the morsel of intelligence that he misuses. We see in this an abnegation of that feeling of dependence, which we admit to belong to all men. We demand the same Piety towards our Universum, as the devout man of the old fashion did for his God."—p. 146.

IV.

THE BIBLE.

"Men think they understand the Bible, because they are habituated to not understanding it. Moreover, the modern reader brings to it as much edifying force as he derives from it. Not even to mention books like the Revelation of John, and most of the Prophets of the Old Testament, surely it is not meant to say that Lessing's 'Nathan,' or Goethe's 'Hermann und Dorothea,' is harder to understand, or contains fewer "saving truths," fewer golden sayings, than an Epistle of Paul, or a discourse of Christ according to John." —p. 299.

V.

THE FUTURE STATE.

"As regards the substitute, which our view of things offers for the Church's belief in immortality, the reader may perhaps expect from me a very lengthened explanation, but will have to content himself with a very short one. He who in this point cannot practise self-help, is not yet ready for our standing-point. He for whom, on the one hand, it is not enough to be allowed to vitalise within himself the everlasting ideas of the Universum, and of the course of development (*Entwicklungsgang*), and the destiny, appointed for

humanity; he who knows not how to create within himself, for the dead whom he loves and honours, a continuation of life and action in its finest form (*das schönste Fortleben und Fortwirken*); he in whom, together with exertion for his family, with labour in his calling, with contribution to the welfare of his nation, as well as to the good of his fellow-men at large, and with enjoyment of the Beautiful in Nature and Art—he, I say, in whom, with all this there does not on the other hand arise the consciousness, that he himself can only be called to be a temporary partner in it all; he who cannot prevail upon himself, finally, to bid his adieu to life with thankfulness for having been permitted for a time to act, to enjoy, and also to suffer in unison with all this, and at the same time with a devout sense of liberation from wha', in the long-run is, after all, but exhausting day-labour; such a man, I say, we must remit to Moses and the Prophets; who, to boot, knew nothing of an immortal life, yet Moses and the Prophets still they were."—p. 372.

(I have not ventured to tamper with the syntax of this passage.)

## C.—p. 25.

### The System of Comte.

Having given Comte credit for imagination, I must confess that, I did not suppose him to be of "imagination all compact," * but rather of imagination all diffuse. I had in view his width of sympathies and disposition to sympathise, his avowed regard for Veneration, his priesthood, his incorporation of the priestly vocation with the function of the poet, his calendar, and his woman-worship, as he has developed them in his 'Catechism of Positivism' [I refer to the English translation by Mr. Congreve], which he put forth as a sum-

* 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' v. 1.

mary of his previously published volumes, and an anticipation of those which were to follow. (Preface, pp. 12, 37.) Strauss appears to me to be indebted, in a certain degree, to Comte, but to be rather shy of owning the acquaintance.

## D.—p. 25.

### Our Religious Guides.

I quote this passage from Willis's 'Life of Spinoza,' p. 26, note:—

"An entirely truthful and authoritative interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures is an imperative want of the age in which we live, and has now become the first condition required to enable the world to escape from the slough of superstition on the one hand, and irreligiousness on the other, in which it is helplessly sunk, and is sinking more and more deeply every day, despite the well-meant efforts of the pious laity and zealous ministry of all denominations. We have set *authoritative* beside *truthful* in the sentence above, for we are possessed of even more than one perfectly truthful and exhaustive, but of no authoritative interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures and Greek Testament; neither can the world at large have any such, until the hierarchies of the Christian Churches agree to associate themselves with Spinoza, Semler, Lessing, De Wette, Ewald, Strauss, Baur, Kuenen, Keim, Renan, and Colenso—critics and scholars all, men of noble lives, clear heads, and pious souls, who, from the fulness of their hearts and depths of their understandings, have spoken to their fellow-men in terms which all might understand, but which ignorance, superstition, and false direction prevent them from apprehending in their inappreciable worth and importance. Authority would indeed seem indispensable to the mass of mankind; but no holy reunion of cultivated men for such a purpose is possible, unless it be based on acknowledgment of the common father-

hood of God, and recognise the revelation He makes of His being and attributes for all time, in no mere spoken words or written records, but in the mind of man, the order of the universe, and the great laws that, by His fiat, rule it necessarily, changelessly, and everlastingly."

## E.—p. 26.

I have made a statement that these ideas are not a mere German brood; though I fear that we owe much of their seed to Germany, as France owed to England the seed of her great Voltairian movement, so far as it was a movement grounded in the region of thought. This statement, as it is given in the text, I will support only by extracts from a single writer, Mr. Winwood Reade. They are taken from his 'Martyrdom of Man.' The three first bear upon creed. I quote the fourth, with reference to the last of the three inventions he desires and anticipates, as an instance of what seems to me a want of sobriety of mind, exhibited in a region where it will be better appreciated than if it bore directly upon matters of religion.

It would have been easy to quote from other writers. Perhaps, in sparing myself that task, I make the reference to Mr. Reade more invidious. But my purpose is information, not reproach. Happily we are not now as in the days of Edward VI., when Philpot, who had himself taken what were deemed considerable liberties with the established religion, spat in the face of an Arian, and defending himself in print, said: "I would I had a quantity of spittle to spattle on them."

I must add that Mr. Reade writes with an ability amply sufficient to defend him from wrong.

### I.

"When the faith in a personal God is extinguished; when prayer and praise are no longer to be heard; when the

belief is universal that with the body dies the soul; then the false morals of theology will no longer lead the human mind astray."—'The Martyrdom of Man,' p. 535.

II.

"We teach that the soul is immortal; we teach that there is a future life; we teach that there is a Heaven in the ages far away; but not for us single corpuscles, not for us dots of animated jelly, but for the One of whom we are the elements, and who though we perish never dies."—p. 537.

III.

"God is so great that He does not deign to have personal relations with us human atoms that are called men. Those who desire to worship their Creator must worship Him through mankind. Such, it is plain, is the scheme of Nature."—p. 537.

IV.

"Three inventions, which perhaps may long be delayed, but which possibly are near at hand, will give to this overcrowded island the prosperous conditions of the United States. The first is the discovery of a motive force which will take the place of steam, with its cumbrous fuel of oil and coal; secondly, the invention of aerial locomotion, which will transport labour at a trifling cost of money and of time, to any part of the planet, and which, by annihilating distance, will speedily extinguish national distinctions; and thirdly, the manufacture of flesh and flour from the elements, by a chemical process in the laboratory similar to that which is now performed within the bodies of the animals and plants."—p. 513.

## F.—p. 28.

### AUTHORITY IN ITS RELATION TO REASON.

The general subject of Authority, and its place not as an antagonist of Reason, but as an instrument of Reason for the attainment of Truth, is very ably handled in the opening chapters of the work of Sir George C. Lewis, 'On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion.'

Though I am not able to follow him in every one of his applications of the principle, I could wish his reasonings were better known to the world than, unfortunately, they can now be, from the extreme scarcity of the work.

He remarks, in p. 35, "It is commonly said that the belief is independent of the will," and that no man can change it "by merely wishing it to be otherwise." But "the operation of a personal interest may cause a man insensibly to adopt prejudices or partial and unexamined opinions." In p. 38 he adds, "Napoleon affords a striking instance of the corruption of the judgment in consequence of the misdirection of the moral sentiments."

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.

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